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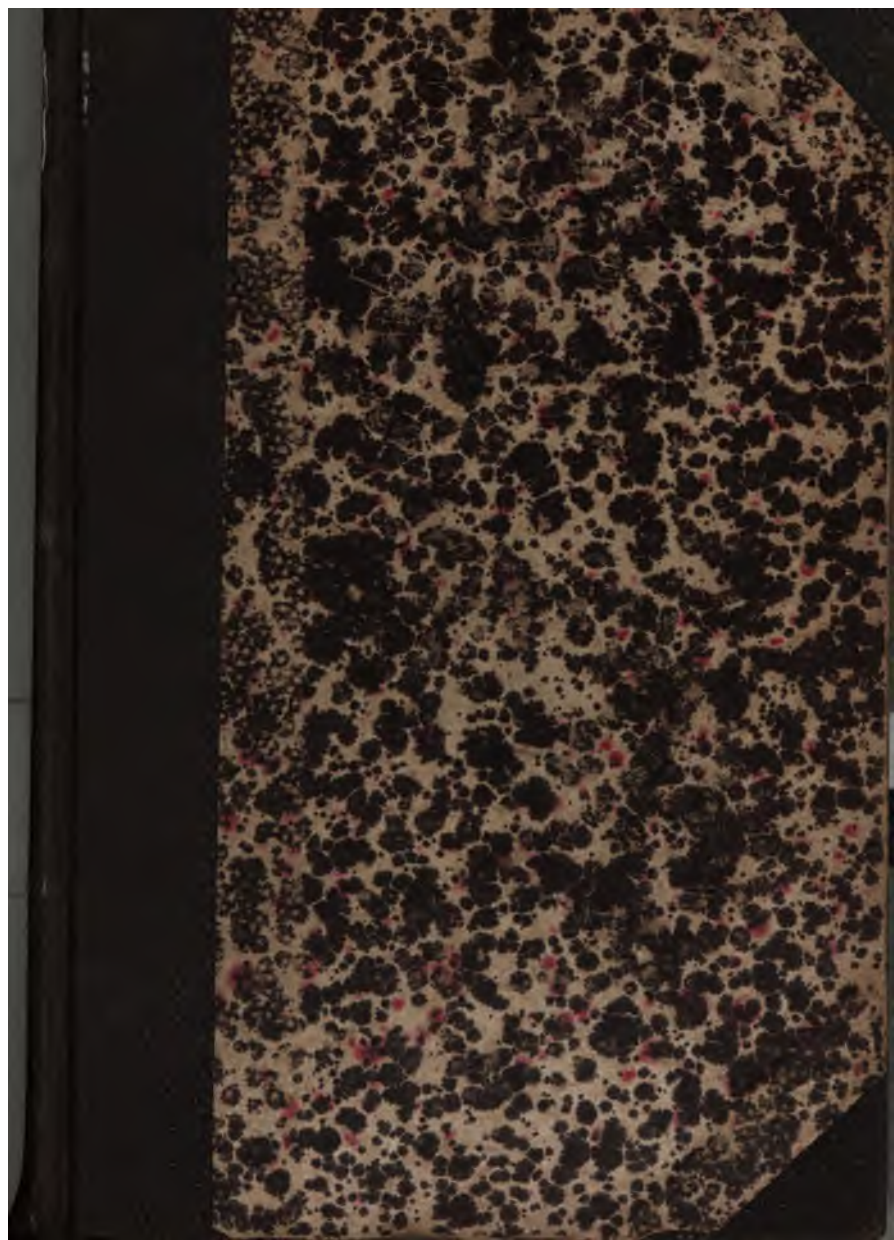
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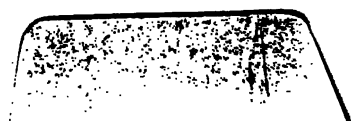
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An Historical Relation

OF THE

Conspiracy

OF

JOHN LEWIS, COUNT DE FIESCHI,

AGAINST THE

City and Republick of Genoua,

in the Year 1547.

XXXX

Done into English

BY THE

Honourable HUGH HARE, Esq.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

—
PRIVATELY PRINTED, EDINBURGH.

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1886.

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of the

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of the United States

as amended

to the Constitution of the United States

in the year 1787

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from the original

of the

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A RELATION
OF THE
Conspiracy
OF
JOHN LEWIS COUNT DE FIESCHI.



IT pleased the Divine Providence to grant to the Republick of *Genoua*, a respite from the Miseries under which they had lately Groaned: For the Citizens being wearied out as well by their Civil Dissentions, as by the Oppression of a Foreign Power, were at last made sensible by these their Misfortunes, how necessary it was for them to Agree. They presently found the good effects of a settled Government, every Man's private Stock daily encreasing

even beyond expectation, when instead of misapplying their Industry, and weakning their strength, he fomenting different Factions, they wisely studied to improve their own Estates; and when that Money which was before consumed in providing for an Army, and in feeding the insatiable Lusts of the Foreign Governors, was far better employed in Traffick and Merchandice. This Happiness the Republick enjoyed, when, of a suddain, there happened a most unfortunate accident, which had like to have deprived the *Genoueses*, of the Liberty they had so lately regained, by the intended Subversion of the Established Government: I mean, the horrid Conspiracy of *John Lewis Count de Fieschi*, the Original whereof is so necessary to be known, that I shall derive it from its first Source.

During the heat of those never to be forgotten Wars in *Italy* between the Emperor *Charles* the 5th. and *Francis* the first King of *France*; *Andrew Doria*, a General very Famous both for Courage and Skill in Maritime Affairs, fought under the *French* Colours; his conduct wonderfully kept up the Reputation and promoted the Interests of that Crown: While at the same time that he faithfully discharged the Trust reposed in him he took a severe Revenge of the *Spaniards*, for those Cruelties they exercised at the sacking of *Genoua* in the Year 1522.

But Princes are very often so fatally unhappy as to disesteem their bravest Subjects, while they are ready and willing to serve them with Faithfulness and Diligence. Thus did *Francis* the first, who by these indiscreet Methods exasperated the mind of *Andrew Doria*, though he was at that time so absolutely necessary to the carrying on the *French* Designs. The Pay assigned him, was not returned to him; *Philibert de Chalons* Prince of *Orange*, whom *Doria* had made a Prisoner of War, was set at Liberty by King *Francis*, without paying the Ransom due to *Doria*; the King did likewise with great impotunity, and (when that was denied) with high words, demand the Marquess *del Vasto*, and *Ascanio Colonna*, who had been taken in Battle by *Philippin Doria* Vice-Admiral to *Andrew*. But that which afflicted this good old Man far beyond the Considerations of his own private Interest, was to find that the King wou'd not perform those his Promises, which regarded the profit and the reputation of the Republick of *Genoua*; whereof this was an eminent Instance. The City of *Savona* having transferr'd their Obedience from the Republick of *Genoua* to the Crown of *France*, proposed to themselves great advantages from the Conveniency of their Haven, which brought them in a vast profit, to the irreparable damage of the Trade of *Genoua*. This

Andrew Doria frequently complain'd of to the King, earnestly desiring, that as a recompence for his past Services, his Majesty wou'd restore to the Republick, that which by all the Rules of Justice entirely belonged to her. The King was so well satisfied of the reasonableness of this Petition, that he promised it shou'd be granted : But when he had balanc'd in his Mind on the one side the Obligations he was under to be Just to his Word, and on the other side the hopes of improving his Interest, he resolv'd (contrary to his promises,) to keep the City in his possession. He had found by experience how unstable the *Genoueses* were in their Resolutions, and how little he could relie upon the assistance of the Republick for the advancing the Interests of his Crown in *Italy*. For the City of *Genoua*, being sometimes oppressed by a Faction of the Nobility, and sometimes subjected to the Caprices of the giddy Mobile, did, without due consideration, alter the Form of its Government according to the Temper of the prevailing Party. Therefore the King thinking it so necessary for the furtherance of his designs in *Lombardy*, to have at his command a convenient Port, he made choice of *Savona*, and gave the charge of it to Monseigneur *de Montmorancy*. By this stratagem the King assured himself, that he had both put a check to the inconstancy of the *Genoueses*, and made his

own undertakings more easie to be accomplished : For the City of *Savona* lying near to *Piedmont*, *Montferrat* and *Lombardy*, was by its situation no less proper for War, than for Commerce : which gave the *Genoueses* occasion to fear, that its increase in Wealth and Reputation wou'd in a few Years spoil the Traffick of the Port of *Genoua*, and thereby enable *Savona* to claim an equal share with them in the Dominion of the adjacent Seas. All these matters had been frequently represented to the King, but without any good effect, so that at last *Doria* was necessitated out of his sincere Love to his Country to abandon the *French* Interests. He being now throughly exasperated by the many Contempts before related, grew every day less and less exact in the furthering the King's designs ; and it happening luckily about this time, (1528,) that the City of *Naples* was besieged by the *French* under the Command of *Lautrech* Vice-Roy of *Milan*, *Philippin Doria* in pursuance of the directions given him by *Andrew*, did by his voluntary negligence suffer the *French* King's Affairs to receive an irreparable damage. For he, who but a little before had with incredible Valor, obtained a remarkable Victory over the Emperor's Fleet in the Gulph of *Salernum*, (in which Fight the Imperialists lost *Don Hugh de Moncada* Vice-Roy of *Sicily*, their Admiral,) was now pleased to permit, without any

opposition, some small Vessels laden with Provisions, to sail by his Fleet into *Naples*: And this Relief coming so seasonably to the Besieged, proved the ruin of this Enterprize. As soon as Pope *Clement* the Seventh had received notice that *Doria* began to fall off from the Interests of *France*, he dispatch'd orders to Cardinal *Saivati* his Nuncio in that Court, to represent to the King, how necessary it was for him by just and satisfactory Concessions, to regain to the service of his Crown a Person of so approved Courage and Skill in Maritime Affairs; since it was highly probable, that *Doria*, if he were thoroughly exasperated, would shelter himself, and the Interests of the Republick, under the Emperor's Protection; which cou'd not fail to defeat the Expectations the *French* then had of the Conquest of *Naples*. At the same time that these friendly intimations were posted away to the Court of *France*, the Pope dispatch'd *Sanga* his Secretary to Cajole *Doria* into his Service, with the offer of a large Pension. The Court of *Rome* was at that time justly apprehensive, that *Doria's* Interest and Reputation might probably over-balance the Affairs of *Italy* to the advantage of the Emperor, if he shou'd be induced to comply with the honourable proposals offer'd him by his Imperial Majesty: Therefore that this foreseen accident might be effectually provided against, and not (as

was falsely pretended) for any occasion the Pope then had of *Doria's* commanding his Fleet, this Crafty Embassy was resolved on as the most likely method to prevail. When this important affair came to be debated in the *French* King's Privy Council, some that were Enemies to *Doria*, took this occasion to represent him as a Person so excessively haughty in the exercise of his Authority, and so thoroughly disgusted at the King's Usage of him, that it wou'd be impossible ever to regain him to the *French* Interests; therefore that a sudden stroke might frustrate those designs, which cou'd not without vast difficulties (if at all) be diverted by an amicable accommodation; and that the Emperor might want so necessary an Assistant in this juncture of Affairs, it was thought advisable that *Doria* should be Assassinated. This advice was not rejected, but in pursuance of it, (as was generally reported,) necessary Instructions were privately given to Monsieur de *Barbezieux* who was then sailing for *Italy*, with the *French* Fleet, of which he had been created Admiral a little before. *Doria* in the-mean time received private intelligence of these designs; and being thoroughly exasperated with so ungrateful and perfidious a return for his former Services, he immediately entred into a close correspondence with the Marquess *del Vasto* his Prisoner of War, by whom he offer'd his Service to the Emperor,

which was very readily and kindly accepted. And now *Doria* made a publick Renunciation of his Friendship with the *French* King, by sending him back the Collar and the Instrument of his Admission to the Order of St. *Michael*.

The Articles that *Doria* made with the Emperor when he first entred into his Service, were such as the Republick might reasonably promise themselves from a sincere Patriot. He wholly neglected this advantageous occasion of increasing the Honours and Revenues of his Family, contenting himself that he had effectually secured the Liberty of *Genoua*, and restored to them their Dominion over *Savona*, by the Protection and Assistance of his Imperial Majesty. This Resolution of *Doria* so thoroughly awakened the *French* King out of the slumber into which the false Policy of his Ministers had cast him, that being desirous to repair his past negligence, by his present sedulity, he thought it advisable to endeavour to regain *Doria* to his Interests by honourable and advantageous Proposals: But the King's Repentance began so late that it proved absolutely fruitless. For *Doria* being now thoroughly bent upon the delivering his Country from the power of Foreigners, would not admit of any offers that might delay the execution of these his generous designs. Nevertheless the *French* King who had been so careless to keep in the friendship of *Doria*, became now so

eagerly impatient to recover that without considering how great respect was due to a Crowned Head, he stoop'd so low as voluntarily to offer a full satisfaction in all those particulars, which *Doria* had oftener Petitioned for, and had been as often denied : Nay, with so great indiscretion was this affair managed, that, by making these Proposals to *Doria*, before some other person had privately sounded his Intentions in it, the King exposed his Royal Dignity to the disgrace, and himself to the shame and vexation, of receiving a peremptory repulse. Accidents of this nature are often observed to happen in the Courts of Princes ; who being puffed up with insolent thoughts of their own power, believe that their Fortune needs not the assistance of any one to establish or support it. And sometimes brave Men, who are constantly in the Camp, or at Court, miss of that esteem which is due to their Merits, and which is daily bestowed on far less deserving persons, if they have but the advantageous Character of being Foreigners : It being too Natural to Princes, as well as the rest of Mankind, to undervalue their present Enjoyments, and hanker after unexperienced Novelties, no less in the Publick, than in the Private, Circumstances of their Lives.

Doria having for these reasons, settled himself, and the Twelve Gallies under his Command, in the Emperor's Service, he presently applied his

Mind to the deliverance of his Country from the Dominion of *France* ; for, like a true Patriot, the Liberty of his Country had always been the only Object of his Thoughts. The Republick was at this time overpowered by a Popular Faction, who under the pretence of the publick safety, fomented with Arms and Tumults the unwarrantable Passions of Private Families ; not making a due difference between the Liberty of the Commonwealth, and the Licentiousness of some of the Members of it. Hence it came to pass, that whenever any Faction found that their own Forces were too weak to defend them in their Irregularities, they reinforced themselves with Foreign Auxiliaries, and thereby brought into the City a new Model of Government. One while the Faction of the *Adorni* Expelled that of the *Fregosi* ; a while after the *Fregosi* overpower'd the *Adorni* : Sometimes they gave themselves into the Protection of the Duke of *Milan*, then again they removed the Governors he sent them : Next they chose to be under the Government of the *French*, by and by they shook off that Yoke, and then were again willing to receive it. So that by the frequent change of Applications the dangerous wounds that had so long afflicted the Republick, (and that ought to have been once for all thoroughly healed by a general Concord,) were still kept open : All this *Doria* was sensible of, and there-

fore, that he might encourage the good intentions of those persons who joined with him in their earnest Wishes for the Publick Safety, he approach'd with his Gallies near the City of *Genoua*.

Nor was a prosperous success wanting to these his generous designs. For many of the Citizens, being thoroughly wearied out with the Calamities of their past Dissentions, and being afflicted with the Plague, returned to more sober Thoughts, and heartily Prayed for a safe and lasting Concord. At this time the City was Governed in the *French* King's name by Monsieur *Theodore de Trivulce*, a person whose signal behaviour in those Martial Employments wherewith he had been intrusted, had acquired him the Character of a Prudent as well as a Courageous Commander. Nevertheless his Conduct was at this time such as was greatly wondred at by those that knew him, and the rather because it did not seem to answer those former Actions by which he had so deservedly establish'd his Reputation. For although he very well knew that the discourse and the designs of the *Genoueses* tended strongly to a mutual agreement among themselves; yet he was very negligent in the thwarting these their Inclinations: Either because he thought, the end of it wou'd only be a Reconciliation of the private Animosities between the Families of the Nobility and of the Com-

monalty: Or because, he cou'd hardly think it possible that the Government of *Genoua*, which was put in the *French* King's Hands meerly by their intestine divisions, cou'd be taken from him by the united strength of the Citizens; he presumptuously conceited that to be much too weak to resist the King's Forces, when headed by so Valiant a Leader as himself. *Doria* finding the Citizens so well disposed, and being thoroughly apprehensive of the vast Advantages so unexpectedly given him by Monsieur *de Trivulce's* oversight, immediately applied himself to the bringing this his Enterprize to a conclusion; which succeeded so well, that without the shedding of any blood he took the City, and drave out of it the *French* Garrison. The *Genoueses* received him with all the marks of an incredible Joy, and many of them persuaded him to accept of the Principality of *Liguria*, now that Fortune had so kindly offered it him: But he generously refused it, his Mind being far above the dazzling splendor of a Crown. The next thing he did was to exhort the Citizens in a well weighed Speech, (fitly becoming the Father of his Country,) to repent of their past Errors, to know their true Interest, and for the future to maintain their Liberty, (which he now freely presented to them,) by laying aside all those Dissentions, which had for so many Years kept their Country in continual

Miseries. The City being thus restor'd to its Ancient Liberty, it prov'd no difficult matter for them, either to gain the Castle, into which Monsieur *de Trivulce* presently retreated, or by force of Arms to Conquer *Savona*: As a punishment of whose Rebellion, its Harbour was made useless, Two Vessels of the largest size being sunk just at the mouth of it to choak the passage. The City of *Genova* being thus vastly oblig'd to *Doria* for so many signal Kindnesses to them, they were desirous to give effectual demonstrations of their Real Gratitude to himself and his Family; hereupon they granted to him and to his descendents very large and noble Privileges, and erected to his Immortal Memory a Statue of *Lunigian* Marble, in the base whereof an Inscription was Engraven, which declar'd him to be the Author of the Publick Liberty. Then, for their better security, the *Genoueses*, with the advice of *Doria* their Deliverer, Constituted a Form of Government answerable to a Free State, under which their Ancient Splendor began to revive: And this renown'd Patriot having Atchiev'd many Glorious Enterprizes, and growing decrepit with the Infirmities of Old Age, retir'd from the hurry of the World to a pleasing Repose in his own Country, there enjoying in his own Mind the fruit of those Victories, and that Quiet, which he had been the happy Instrument of. He kept with

him in his Family *Jannetin Doria*, the Son of *Thomas*, his Cousin-German : This *Jannetin* was a young Man of a very ready Wit, and of approv'd Courage ; of which he had given so many signal demonstrations in those Employments which he manag'd under *Andrew*, that he was deservedly adopted for his Son, and by the Emperor's consent design'd to succeed him in his supreme Command of the Maritime Affairs. Hence it came to pass that *Doria*, being highly esteem'd by all the Princes of *Europe* for his excellent Endowments, being reverenc'd by the *Genoueses* as their common Benefactor, and having gained a large Stock both of Reputation and Wealth, his House was frequented more like the Palace of a Prince, than the Residence of a private Citizen. These things, (which I have here related in as few words as the matter will allow,) were the true occasion of the Conspiracy so cunningly and deliberately contrived by *John Lewis Count de Fieschi* : And by this Memorable Example all free Cities may perceive, how vastly prejudicial it is to their Publick Affairs, to advance any of their Members, (though never so Eminent for Vertue, Valour and Conduct,) to a great degree of Honour, Riches, or Power, above their Fellow-Subjects : The necessity of preventing which dangers, induc'd the *Athenians* wisely to Publish their Law of *Ostracism*.

This happy settlement of the Publick Affairs of

Genoua, and of *Doria's* private concerns, was much envied by Pope *Paul* the Third, (of the House of *Farnese*,) Successor to *Clement* the Seventh, (of the Family of *Medici*,) and by the King of *France*. For the City of *Genoua* having thrown off the *French* Yoke, and being shelter'd under the Emperor's Protection, prov'd the occasion of very great hindrances to the *French* King in his designs upon the Dutchy of *Milan*, wherein the Pope was very desirous he shou'd be successful; that the Emperor's Power, which was now grown Formidable to all *Europe*, might be a little check'd; and that he might be reveng'd of the Emperor for his putting by one of the *Farneses* from the Acquisition of that *Dutchy*, in which transaction the Ambitious Self-Interested Pope shew'd himself very Zealous.

These considerations so exasperated both the Pope and the *French* King, that they cou'd not endure that *Doria*, the only Adviser and Promoter of those Measures, shou'd be so safely fix'd in an Honourable Repose, as to be only an unconcern'd Spectator of their Misfortunes. Besides this, *Paul* the Third had an Animosity against him upon another account: And this made the more lasting Impression upon his Mind, because it was occasion'd by some private Injuries which had mutually past between them; the Original whereof I think it necessary to relate, as serving to my present purpose.

Imperial *Doria*, Bishop of *Sagona*,* having by the kindness and assistance of his Cousin *Andrew*, got together a great Summ of Money, he Purchased with it an Estate in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which upon his Death-Bed he bequeath'd to *Andrew*; on this condition, That he shou'd take care to Relieve the Necessities of some of his Relations who were low in the World. But the Pope's Officers, pretending that the Inheritance of this Estate was wholly devolv'd to the Apostolick See by the Ancient Customs of the Church, took possession of it immediately; and executed their Commission with so much insolence and extortion, that they seem'd rather to be common High-way-men, than Collectors deputed to enter upon the Lands and receive the Rents. *Doria* represented to the Pope the ill usage he had suffer'd from his Officers, and made out his claim to the Estate; which, though it was not allowed by the Officers of the Pope's Exchequer, yet it proved an inducement to Cardinal *Alexander Farnese* the Pope's Nephew, to offer him civilly to resign his pretended interest in it, on condition he would receive it as his free gift. *Doria* being irritated with Scorn and Anger at the Cardinal's unseasonable Liberality, in giving him what was his own, (though the Cardinal's covetous temper did seldom permit

* A City in the Isle of Corsica.

him to be guilty even of that seeming Generosity) and thinking the usage he had met with to be directly contrary to the measures of Justice, as well as unpardonable affronts offer'd to a Person of his Rank, he resolv'd, notwithstanding the apparent dangers of such an Enterprize, to lay aside for a while his wonted respect to the Roman See, and the usual calmness of his Temper, that he might gain Satisfaction by those methods, which best become a Soldier, sensible of injuries and desirous to revenge them. Hereupon he imparted his Intentions to *Jannetin Doria* his Cousin, and gave him orders to seize the Pope's Galleys and bring them into the Port of *Genoua*, which was accordingly done. After he had detain'd them for some days, he released them of his own accord; being very well pleas'd to let the World see, that tho he wanted neither Power nor Courage to shew his resentments of the Indignities put upon him, yet he had so much respect for the head of the Church, as to restrain himself, (tho he had these great advantages) from taking a compleate Revenge. The most judicious Politicians commended *Doria's* Prudence in this Action for these two Reasons: First, that he did it at the instance of the *Genoueses*, upon whom the Pope had taken reprizals in his own Territories, using them withall very ill, since the Seizure of his Gallies: And next (which they suppos'd the chief reason) that

enjoying so high a Command under the Emperor, he would not make use of his Princes Authority to revenge his own private Injuries; knowing better how to make the due distinction between Publick and Private concerns, whereby he prevented a Flame from bursting out, which though kindled at first upon a trifling Quarrel, might not perhaps have been extinguish't without much Bloodshed.

The Pope and the *French* King being thoroughly vex't to find their Affairs both Publick and Private in so ill a Posture, appli'd their minds with the utmost intention, to cause such alterations in *Genoua*, as might give them a fair opportunity to open the Scene they had laid for the Execution of their Designs. The King had twice tho' very unsuccessfully, attempted by Arms to recover *Genoua*, wherein he first employ'd the Count *de St. Paul*, and then *Cæsar Fregose*: This alarm'd the *Genoueses* to stand upon their Guard with Vigour and Diligence, for the preservation of their Liberty, fully confiding that their City would victoriously repel the attacks of a Foreign Power, unless it should be betray'd by the intestine discord of the Citizens. However (it being beyond the reach of humane Wisdom to foresee all Accidents, or to discover Conspiracies so secretly laid, and cunningly carried on) Fortune, which was not yet entirely reconcil'd to the interests of

Genoua, offer'd her Enemies a Prospect of unexpected success, by the methods I am now going to relate.

John Lewis de Fieschi a young Man of a Haughty and Turbulent Spirit, was about this time almost distracted with ambitious Thoughts, how he might advance his Title and Reputation. He descended from the noble Family of the Lords of the Territory of *Lavagna*, and as his Estate was large, so his Interest was very great, being attended by his Friends and Adherents, (who were substantial men) and served in great Splendor by many of his own Vassals. Nevertheless he was not contented with these happy and honourable Circumstances, deriv'd to him by Inheritance from his Ancestors; but suffer'd himself to be carried away by the impetuous heat of his Youth, and the pernicious dictates of Ambition (the too common Seducer of Noble Persons) to aspire at a height of Power and Dignity, no less dangerous to be obtain'd than difficult to be kept. Even from his very Childhood there was observ'd in several of his Actions a Fierceness and Arrogance hardly to be found in any of so tender an Age: From whence several considerate Persons were induced to suspect, that his riper Years might push him on to endeavour the Disturbance of his Country's Peace. These his natutal inclinations (pernicious enough of themselves) grew more prevalent by an

ill Education, that pestilent distemper which too often infects young Men beyond a possibility of cure. For altho *Paul Pansa* a Man of Eminent Learning and Vertue, was appointed to instruct him in the Liberal Arts, yet those with whom he most intimately convers'd, being very lewd and profligate Fellows, made it their endeavour to cherish and propagate, in the mind of the young Count, the wicked design of subverting the Republick, applauding these propos'd Enterprizes as worthy of the most noble and generous Spirits. To this new kindl'd and increasing Flame his Mother continually added a supply of Fuel: For being very Ambitious, and not having Discretion enough to foresee the dismal consequences of her Proceedings, she often excited her Son, who was of an aspiring Temper, with sharp reproofs; as if by enjoying his own Estate and living upon it, he sunk into the despicable Character of a private Country Gentleman, and degenerated from the Reputation of his Ancestors, who always maintain'd a considerable interest both in their own Country and in the Courts of Foreign Princes. And that nothing might be wanting to force this falling weight to the bottom of the precipice from whence he had slipt by his wild Ambition, his Friends advis'd him to peruse diligently the life of *Nero*, the History of *Cataline's* Conspiracy, and *Nicholas Machiavell's* little Book, *Entitul'd the*

Prince: By reading these Authors, his mind was by degrees tinctur'd with Cruelty, Perfidiousness, and a love so great to his private Interests, as to banish all Apprehensions of Divine and Humane Laws. These vices he first admir'd, and though the innate Sense of good and evil was sometimes so prevalent, as to suggest to him that he ought to detest and abhor such Practices as unworthy of a Man of Honour, yet at length yielding to his corrupt Inclinations, he excus'd them by the Actions of these great Men, recorded by Historians, and too much imitated by the most Politick Statesmen. So powerfully are the Actions of our lives influenc'd either to Vertue or Vice, and our wills insensibly chang'd by reading the works of eloquent Authors; whose charming way of Writing seldom fails to over-balance the sober Dictates of our own Reason, which rather ought to be our Guide.

These qualifications of the young Count were quickly found out by those who diligently watcht for all opportunities of raising their own Fortunes by the Ruin of *Genoua*. Upon several accounts they thought him the most proper Instrument that cou'd be, to carry on this their Important Design; and therefore they fail'd not very often to excite him to it, by proposing to him very great Honours and Advantages. The first who by the *French* King's Order held a correspondence with him to

this end, were *Cæsar Fregose* and *Cagnino Gonzaga*, as was discover'd not long after by some Papers, which fell into the hands of the Marquess *del Vasto*, Governour of *Milan* by the Emperors Commission. He being desirous by a provident Caution to prevent the Disorders which might hereby interrupt the Peace of *Italy*, acquainted *Doria* with his Suspicions: But the good old Man gave no credit to them, being over-sway'd by the Affection he bore to the Count, and by the Observations he had made of the indiscretion of altering his measures upon a bare conjecture. Afterwards *William Bellay* the King's Principal Minister of State, manag'd this business by the assistance of *Peter Luke Fieschi*; and as the report went, the Pope was as zealous in it as the French King. For the Count having taken a journey to *Piacenza*, the Residence of *Peter Lewis Farnese*, the Pope's Natural Son, who assum'd the Title of Duke of that State; he bought of him four Gallies at a moderate Price, on this express Condition that the Count should receive out of the Pope's Exchequer a sufficient allowance for the Manning, Arming, and Maintaining of them. For the Ratification of this Bargain, the Count *de Fieschi* continu'd his Journey to *Rome*, where he was receiv'd by the Pope, with all the signs of an extraordinary love and an entire confidence; and obtain'd of him without any difficulty the encourage-

ment he had so earnestly wisht for. It was the conjecture of some Persons that the Story of the Count's buying the Gallies of the Duke of *Piacenza*, was invented to save the Pope's credit, he being unwilling to afford his assistance to *Fieschi's* enterprize in so publick a manner, as it must have been, had he declar'd that they were fitted out by his Order. I know that some Writers are very solicitous to acquit the Pope and his Son from the scandal of having stirr'd up the Count to so black a design against his Country, by the Testimony of *Apollonio* the Duke's Secretary and intimate Friend; who being kept Prisoner at *Milan*, and being put to the Torture to force from him a satisfactory answer to this Question propos'd by *Don Ferrante Gonzaga*, did even in the extremity of his Suffering, constantly deny that either the Duke or the Pope had any hand in *Fieschi's* Conspiracy. Nor do I think it worth my while to contradict them herein, but shall leave these conjectures on both sides to be sifted by those whose copious Writings may admit of a longer digression. This is beyond dispute, that the general Opinion at that time was that the Count's final resolutions were determined by the advice and encouragements he receiv'd from *Rome*: And the Emperors Ministers of State thought it was so manifest, that when the Pope sent *Camillo Ursino* to the Emperor, after the

Duke's death, to desire the restitution of *Piacenza*, they very freely and sharply reproacht his Master the Pope, with the favouring and forwarding so infamous a design. That this was likewise the Opinion of *Andrew Doria*, may appear by the following Circumstance. The Pope sent him a Letter of Condolence upon the death* of his Cousin *Jannetin*, to which he return'd no answer, slighting it as as a piece of ill tim'd Ceremony: But a while after when the Duke of *Piacenza* was killed† by several Conspirators, *Doria* took the Pope's Letter, and having alter'd some expressions in it as he thought necessary, he sent it back to the Pope by way of Condolence for the Duke's Death. Besides this, it is most certain that while the Count *de Fieschi* staid in *Rome*, the *French* King's Ministers did again sollicite him to put those designs in Execution to which they perceiv'd him very much inclin'd. To this end Cardinal *Augustine Trivulce* Protector of the Affairs of *France*, being sensible how much diligence had been used by the other Ministers of that Crown, (and particularly a little before by *Peter Strozzi* when he pass'd over the *Alpes* with his Army into *Piedmont*) resolved not to be behind any of them, in manifesting his zeal for the King's Interests. Therefore he fixt a time for meeting the Count, and knowing him to be excessively ambitious of

* January 2nd, 1547.

† September 28th, 1547.

Fame and Glory, he appli'd himself to him in this manner.

“Were Fortune propitious to your vertue (most noble Youth) I should then have just occasion to rejoice with you, whom I should now behold exalted far above that middle State of life enjoy'd by trading Citizens. But since the Iniquity of the times denies you a reward suitable to your Merit, I desire you kindly to accept my affection, by which I Sympathize with you in your Misfortunes, and from my heart wish you (as all good Men do) a concurrence of more happy Events. Your Birth is so noble, and your Endowments are so Rare, that the general voice of the World calls you to a higher Station, that you may be the better able to promote their common good. Among the rest of your Admirers, I, who upon the account of my Employments have a nearer view of Publick Transactions, do heartily wish to see your Valour display'd to the eyes of *Europe*, on a Theatre more stately than that whereon you now so well act your part. You were born in such an unhappy juncture of time, that the present constitution of your own Country makes it unlawful and dangerous for you to aspire to any very eminent Dignity; for the *Genoueses* having disclaimed their Obedience to the King of *France*, and brought all to a common equality, will by no means permit you to enjoy any Character above the ordinary level of a

Citizen. Besides this, *Andrea Doria* and his Cousin *Jannetin*, under the specious pretence of restoring to *Genoua* its ancient Liberty, have so firmly establisht their own Power, that the most universal Concord of the *Genoueses* consists in their being willing to enslave themselves to the the Arbitrary commands of that Family. Thus by a servile Subjection to the Tyranny of two private Persons, do this foolish People sufficiently punish themselves, for having rashly executed their blind Resolution of withdrawing themselves from the Protection of a most powerful Prince. These *Doria's* being thus Bolster'd up by the assistance of the Emperor's Army, (to whose affairs the late turn in *Genoua* has been very advantageous) and growing more formidable by their numerous Fleet which almost fills the Port, you may be sure will never permit any noble and resolute mind to exert it self: For if any of the Citizens should give Proofs of a remarkable Courage, they would presently be jealous of it, fearing least it should portend danger to the increasing Fortune of their Family; and would under the pretence of securing the publick Safety, abuse those ambitious Titles granted to *Andrew*, of Fathers of their Country, and Restorers of its lost Freedom to the oppression of Persons more Valiant and Deserving than themselves. Hence it is that any so well Born and Accomplisht as

your self, cannot fail while their Power is so great to be continually disturb'd with Injuries, besides the danger that their lives are daily expos'd to. 'Tis true, none of the Disorders I have hinted at have hitherto appear'd; but the reason of that is to be ascrib'd partly to the distrust the *Doria's* have of their new gotten and yet unsettled Power, and in a great measure to the moderation of *Andrew*, who curbs *Jannetin* in his rash and ill advis'd Designs. Can you think that this young Man, whose haughty Temper, and impetuous Passions, know no limits, will be hindr'd by any consideration of the unlawfulness of the Action, from executing those designs his Fancy may prompt him to? Since he finds himself guarded by Soldiers whom he can trust, and is upon the account of the important office he bears, every day address'd to with vast respect by the young Nobility of the City? Can you think that so high a Spirit will suffer it self to be confin'd within the bounds of a reasonable Power? Or that his thirst of Empire, which encreases daily by the near view he has of it, will be satisf'd without the Blood of many innocent Persons? Can you think that that addition of Honour and Authority which Fortune partial in his Favour, and the *Genoueses* blinded with an excessive love to *Andrew* have fixt upon him, will content him? Or can you believe that he does not aspire after the acquisition

of a more pompous Title, than that of *Jannetin Doria*? As for my part, I cannot give credit to a supposition so improbable. For he has not Moderation enough, either to know how, or to be willing to give a check to so fierce a torrent of extraordinary Felicity. These his Projects are for a while retarded (as far as I can guess) by his expectation of *Andrew's* Death, which cannot be very far off; and then you will see him assume to himself an absolute Power: Altho' by so villainous an Invasion, he casts indelible stain on all the benefits done by *Andrew* to his Country. To this end being already possest of the hearts of the Nobility and the Populace, he encourages the one in Idleness and Luxury, and takes care to give the other full imployment by the profits of Merchandise, that being disus'd to any bold Enterprizes; nay, even to the handling their Weapons, neither of them may dare to make any Opposition to his Designs. Thus under the appearance of a settled Peace, he cunningly conceals his intended Parricide. But supposing that the Divine Providence, (which has hitherto preserv'd the Republick) should cut off all possibility of his succeeding in these his attempts: How great a reproach to their Birth ought the rest of the Citizens who descend from as noble a Parentage, to think it, that *Jannetin Doria* their equal, continues in the secure enjoyment of a Power and

Dignity so far above theirs? What colour of Reason can be alledg'd for it, that in a Free State (where so many no ways inferior to him, either for Birth or Valour, are contented to live privately) he only should keep up the magnificent Port of a Sovereign Prince, treating the rest of the Nobility as if they depended upon him like his Menial Servants? By what Law of any well constituted Republick? By what custom of any Nation not altogether Barbarous? In what History of any civiliz'd People is such a Precedent to be met with? And if you have not hitherto been sensible of the contemptuous behaviour of this insolent Man towards your own Person, it must rather be ascrib'd to the inadvertency of your tender Years, than to *Jannetin's* Affability.

However, you will be greatly deceiv'd, if hereafter you expect to be exempted from the common Miseries that attend your Country. You must, believe me, Sir, you must join with others of the Nobility, in offering him your Attendance and your Service: And *Jannetin* may then reckon it among the chief Trophies of his insufferable Arrogance, that he is caress'd, reverenc'd, and humbly bow'd to by *John Lewis de Fieschi*, Count of *Lavagna*, the Proprietor of a large and well peopled Territory. How much more eligible therefore would it be for you to awaken your mind to such Resolutions as are worthy of your Country,

your Family, and your own Personal Endowments? And immediately to apply your utmost endeavours to free your self and your Country-Men from so sordid an Infamy? Perhaps you may object, that tho' you should be willing to undertake this Enterprise, yet you want a sufficient force and seasonable Opportunities to bring it to perfection. But I hope these difficulties will be clear'd, when I assure you that before your departure from *Rome*, you shall receive all necessary Instructions and Succors for the furthering this Design; in which, when it is ripe for Execution, I am impower'd by my Master the King of *France* to promise you the assistance of his Forces. You will likewise find these further encouragements even in *Genoua* it self. The Populace (urged by their irreconcilable hatred to the Nobility,) will not only be as a Sword to fight for you, but as a Shield to defend you. *Janne-tin's* prosperous Fortune will enchant him to so great a degree of Stupidity, that he will fall an easie Prey to your Artifices. Your own Subjects and those of the Duke of *Piacenza* will be powerful enough to guard you from the attacks of any that shall dare to oppose you. In a word, all things invite you to a certain Victory: Nothing is now wanting but your own final Resolution, not to Fight, but to Conquer and Triumph. Therefore consider well the necessity that lies

upon you, either to be a Prince or a Slave, either to make your self formidable to your Enemies, or to live under continual apprehensions of their Malice.

Cardinal *Trivulce* could not have toucht *Fieschi's* Soul in a more sensible part : For his envy was excited to so high a degree by this representation of *Doria's* Grandeur, that he lookt upon it as a continual Reproach to himself : as if he were inferior to *Jannetin* in any sort of Accomplishments. Thus *Fieschi's* inclinations being so strongly dispos'd towards this desperate Design, it was no difficult matter for the Cardinal to kindle the Flame, when he made use of so proper an incentive, as fallacious Arguments eloquently express'd. And the Count hereupon grew very desirous to know what Proposals the King had empower'd Cardinal *Trivulce* to offer him ; and when the Cardinal had accordingly inform'd him, he thought the Conditions were too valuable to be despis'd. The Particulars of them are as follow.

That he should forthwith enter into the King's Pay, and receive a sufficient Allowance for the Maintenance of six Gallies. That there should be secur'd to him the full Pay for 200 Men to be put in Garrison in the Castle of *Montobbio*. That he should be declared Captain of the Horse, and that 12000 Crowns a year should be assigned him for his own Allowance. These Articles were

quickly after ratifi'd on the King's part at a little distance from *Naples* by *John Caracciolo* Prince of *Melfi*; *Fieschi* nevertheless deffer'd his final Resolution in this matter, till his return to *Genoua*; having satisfi'd the Cardinal both by the Alteration of his Countenance, and by some Words that dropt from him, after this Interview that he would follow the Measures directed by the Crown of *France*. This his delay it is thought proceeded from one of these Reasons, either because he was not yet fully satisfied in his mind of the justice or the feasibleness of this attempt; or because he desir'd to have leisure for a free Conference with his friends, by whose advice he might the better know what Methods to follow in the design he had undertaken. When he came to *Genoua*, he made it his Business to observe *Jannetin's* conduct with more than usual Diligence: For altho' the splendor of the *Doria* Family was principally deriv'd from *Andrew*, yet it being too generally the Practice of the World to worship the rising Sun, the Citizens of *Genoua* follow'd that Maxim, and paid their Court to *Jannetin*, as the chief object of their hopes. *Jannetin's* Temper was naturally haughty, which added to his Military Education, and the respect that was paid him as the Commander of 20 Gallies, and as design'd by the Emperor to be his Uncle's Successor in the office of Admiral, increas'd his Pride to a high

degree. He was likewise so far exalted in his own Opinion, upon the account of some signal Proofs he had given of his Valour, that his Spirit seemed to aim at a higher Condition, than the equality of the Subjects of a Free State could allow of. This made him neglect to gain by affability the affections of those Persons whom he thought would be oblig'd to adhere to him, for the sake of their own Interest ; seeming to think himself safer and greater in a vain ostentation of his Power, than in being really belov'd and esteemed by his Country. For these causes he was hated by the popular Faction : But the young Nobility who attended him, had a greater regard to the profitable Employments they hoped to receive from him, than to the imperious manner in which he behav'd himself towards all. Sometimes he treated the Count *Fieschi* with haughty and arrogant Language ; at which he was so exasperated, that instead of endeavouring to gain his Friendship by the servile Submissions then generally practis'd, he rather wanted Caution and Temper to hide his Resentments ; but gave him plainly enough to understand by his deportment, how little he car'd to see him.

And that *Jannetin* might want no Demonstrations, that *Fieschi* resolv'd to have no dependance on him, even in the maritime concerns, which made him so much respected, he bought of the

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Duke of *Piacenza* the 4 Gallies, (as I before related) to the infinite dissatisfaction of *Jannetin*. In the mean time Cardinal *Trivulce* fearing least if he shou'd abate of his former Diligence, his hopes of fixing *Fieschi* in the *French* Interests might be disappointed, and well knowing that in all Resolutions of importance, Young Men must be brought to a Determination while their Temper and Fancy are warm with the Project, to prevent any Luke-warmness which serious thoughts might suggest; he dispatcht *Nicholas Federato*, a Gentleman of *Savona*, one of the Count's Relations, to him at *Genoua*. This Person by frequently representing the Cardinal's Demands, and vastly magnifying his Promises, at last brought the Count to an express Declaration that he would assist the *French* Forces in reducing the Republick to its former subjection; on condition that the King wou'd fully make good the offers that had been formerly propos'd to him to encrease his Grandeur and enlarge his Power. Hereupon *Federato* rid Post for *Rome*, to get the Capitulation ratifi'd by the subscriptions of those Ministers, whom the King had Authoriz'd for that purpose: As soon as *Federato* had begun his Journey, Count *Fieschi* imparted the whole Affair, to some few of his Confidants, and having ask'd their Advice concerning it, they very freely blam'd him, not for the design it self,

but for the Methods he intended to take for the putting it in Execution.

For this reason he sent in all hast to recall *Foderato* ; from whom having receiv'd the Packet of Letters, and dispatches he had entrusted him withall, he propos'd in a few words his Intentions to be deliberately canvassed by his Friends. The Persons whom he thought worthy to be of this private Consult, were these three : *Vincenzio Calcagno* of *Varese*, a Servant entirely faithful to Count *Fieschi*, who sincerely endeavour'd to preserve his Master's Life and Honour : *Raphael Sacco* a Lawyer of *Savona*, whom *Fieschi* made use of as the Judge and Auditor of the concerns of his Territory : And *John Baptist Verrina* a Citizen of *Genoua* : *Verrina* having the advantage of living very near *Fieschi's* Palace, he by degrees insinuated himself into the Count's Familiarity, cunningly pretending a great zeal for his Interests that he might by *Fieschi's* assistance prop up his own decaying Fortunes ; and herein the sly Hypocrite succeeded so well, that he soon gain'd the Ascendant over him, having engag'd him to lend him several Summs of Money, and (which is far more considerable) to communicate to him his most important Secrets.

His Ambition was large, and prompted him to form great Designs ; for the effecting whereof, his natural Ingenuity never fail'd to suggest to him,

the likeliest Methods : His inveterate hatred to the Nobility, proceeded partly from the resentment of private Injuries, and partly from a Factious dislike of the present Constitution ; wherein, by *Andrew Doria's* Advice, the Nobility were restor'd to the Administration of Affairs which they had formerly enjoyed, and from which they had been so long unjustly excluded. This frustrated *Verrina's* Expectations of having any share in the management of the Government : Which, together with the uneasy consideration of approaching Poverty, (his Debts every day increasing, and his Estate decaying,) prov'd an irresistible incitement to him (his mind being exasperated with the disappointment of Honour and Wealth) as it generally does to Persons involv'd in the like Difficulties, desperately to engage in this rash Design ; hoping it might give him some prospect of being deliver'd from the inconveniences of his present Circumstances, and of being reinstated in that happiness and those advantages, which his disturbing Memory told him he formerly possess'd.

Thus *Verrina* being sensible that he cou'd no longer conceal his Misfortunes, while the Publick Tranquility lasted, made it his endeavour to bury the remembrance of them under the ruins of his native Country. For if the design'd Villainy prov'd successful, he assur'd himself, that his

Circumstances wou'd be every way vastly improv'd ; but if it should not (as was a very great hazard) he buoy'd up his mind against all ominous fears of future Calamities, with the prospect he had that his name should live, tho' under a Character remarkably infamous : for daring to be crusht under the weight of so bold an attempt, and to expose himself to a destruction almost certain, for the gratifying his Revenge, by involving his Enemies under the same fate. So stupid and heedless are Men animated with Ambition, that, tho' it is their chief aim to advance and eternize their Reputation, yet it is equal to them by what Methods they acquire it, whether by the noble pursuits of Vertue, or the mean and inglorious Practices of Vice.—But *Calcagno* was a Man of a very solid and mature Judgment; and having been long accustom'd to the delights and the plenty of a wealthy Family, abhorr'd the very thoughts of those Dangers into which he foresaw the Count wou'd precipitate himself : But, besides this, he acted upon the 'generous Principles of Sincerity and Gratitude : For having been bred up in the *Fieschi* Family from his Infancy, he had a real affection for the Count's Person, without any selfish regard to the advantages he might reap from his Estate ; whereby those who have distinct Interests of their own to pursue are (too generally) influenc'd to expose their Patrons

to the utmost hazards, that they may accomplish their covetous Designs.—*Sacco* perceiving that the prosecution of this affair wou'd be liable to great Hazards, stood Neuter, that he might have the better opportunity to declare his Sentiments in favour of those measures that *Fieschi* should resolve to follow. The Count imparted his mind to them, in a short but very pathetick Speech : Telling them that he was positively resolv'd to endeavour some considerable Alteration in the present Constitution of *Genoua*, and that he therefore desir'd them to give their Opinions what Methods would be the likeliest to accomplish it. Nevertheless *Calcagno*, whose cordial Affection to his Patron, and many years Domestick dependance on him had inspir'd him with the greater confidence, took the freedom to speak to him to this purpose.

If (Sir) you are so unalterably resolv'd to proceed in your attempts against the Government of *Genoua*, as your expressions seem to declare to us ; it will then be in vain for me to think that my contradicting you in it can produce any good Effect, or prevent those common Calamities which I heartily deplore : But if the dictates of Prudence, and your good *Genius* can induce you to admit of second thoughts, (which usually are the wisest and the safest) I shall on this occasion give you as great a proof of my Fidelity, by my

freedom in speaking, as I have done all the rest of my life by my diligent and industrious management of your concerns. You have hitherto enjoyed a constant course of Felicity; Fortune hath never yet made you the object of her frowns: Hence it comes to pass that your mind is not accustom'd to entertain any impressions but what represent all your designs crown'd with Victory, your Dignity advanc'd, and your Dominions enlarg'd. These (Sir) are generally the Dreams of those who have long been the Favourites of Fortune. But I am very apprehensive that some cross accident will dissipate these pleasing Shadows, and then your disappointment will be much more grievous to you, because you did not in the least foresee or expect it. To effect an alteration of the Government of the Republick, is a work at this time liable to so many difficulties, and expos'd to so evident dangers, that shou'd I represent it to you safe and easie, I shou'd offer the greatest violence to my own Reason. For you can propose to your self but these two Methods to accomplish your design; either to make use of a Foreign Force, or to prevail by a secret correspondence with some of the Citizens: As for the former, I do not yet see any Preparations made towards it; and if there were, 'tis impossible that an Army can March either so fast or so privately, but that it

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must give an Alarm to the Emperor, to *Doria*, and to the *Genoueses*. All *Italy* is at this time to our great Misfortune in such a Ferment, that the eyes of *Europe* are vigilant in watching our Motions; and *Genoua*, being the only Maritime Frontier of this Province, is you know suspected, and therefore strongly guarded and jealously observ'd. And since the Dutchy of *Milan* is already become the Seat of the War, and is destin'd to be at last a Prey either to the *Italians* or the *French* Forces, you must needs think that, in common Policy the Emperor will take the greater care of *Genoua*, which he esteems as the main Bulwark of his Power in *Italy*: *Doria* will herein attend him not only with his twenty Gallies, but also (which is much more considerable) with the sincere affection of the Citizens (whom he has so much befriended) and with the assistance of the whole Fleet bound for the *Levant*, which is entirely devoted to his Service. The City of *Genoua*, is now so exasperated at the Tyrannical proceedings of the Duke of *Milan* and the *French* King, that the very mention of a Foreign Force is become odious and detestable to them. Therefore unless your Army is very numerous, you can only discover your Intentions, but never bring them to any effect; and that you may be sensible how irreparable a damage this would prove to you, you must consider that nothing but a conclusion

unexpectedly successful can ever obtain applause, or even justify an undertaking of this Nature. And how or from whom you can expect to be suppli'd with such an Army I cannot imagine ; for supposing that the *French* King (on whose Protection you so much rely) is desirous to raise new Tumults in *Italy*, yet his own pretensions to the Kingdom of *Naples* and the Dutchy of *Milan*, will keep the best part of his Army (whose present Business is to secure their own Frontiers) so fully employ'd, that the Auxiliaries he sends you, must be very few and inconsiderable. Or if I could so far impose on my own Reason, as to believe that either he or any other Potentate would supply you with Forces proportionable to your design, yet ev'n then you must expect to be oppos'd with perhaps a greater, to be sure an equal force, by his Imperial Majesty who has taken the *Genoueses* into his Protection. So that at last your Happiness or Misery will entirely depend on so great a hazard, as the uncertain event of a Battel : And whether it goes against or for you, you must be contented to accept of such Terms as the Conqueror shall Prescribe, and the only reward firmly entail'd on you will be the indelible infamy, of having ungratefully robb'd your Country of her Liberty, and put her under the Yoke of a Barbarous Enemy. Perhaps you may expect to receive a nearer and speedier assistance from those

Citizens who are of your Faction ; but I am sure if I am at all acquainted with the Temper and Inclinations of the *Genoueses*, you build your hopes on a very crazie and tottering Foundation. From which order of them, pray, Sir, is it that you expect these Succors ? Is it from the Nobility ; These you know are already of *Doria's* Party, to whom they are engag'd by many Obligations, and to whom they owe their share in the Administration of the Government, and the happiness of an honourable Peace : And how can you think that they, who run the risk of worsting their Fortunes by every slight alteration, should now, out of Complaisance to you, help forward a turbulent Revolution, which must precipitate them into greater and more inextricable difficulties than they have yet been involv'd in ? Will they to comply with your Ambition forget all the Obligations they lie under to their Country, their Liberty, their Families and their Estates ? Can you believe that they will prefer your Friendship, before *Doria's* Protection, whom on many accounts both Private and Publick they have for a long time reverenc'd as their Father ? Nor can you reasonably suppose that the inclinations of the Populace are a whit more favourable to your designs ; for how much the greater their Aversion is to the very name of the Nobility, so much the less (you may be sure) will they trust

you who being the chief of them, make it your endeavour to destroy your own order, without a reasonable pretence or Provocation. And if some few of the Mob should give credit to your Proposals, their Leaders will never sink their own Reputation so low as to accept of a Deliverance obtained for them by you. If your design be to set up your self as Prince or absolute Governour of *Genoua*, what Action can be less agreeable to the Populace than this? What can be farther from meriting a general Applause? But perhaps you will tell me, your intentions are only to re-establish the Ancient Democrattick Constitution, which *Genoua* enjoy'd till *Doria* subverted it by force of Arms; and such a Declaration as this you think will so charm the Commonalty, that they will presently take up Arms in your Favour. For my part I am so far from obstinately maintaining the contrary Opinion, that I verily believe, those who are dissatisfied at the present State of Affairs, will greedily embrace so fair an occasion of acting over again their former Tragedies. The more readiness and vigour they exert in Prosecuting this Cause, so much the more do they advance their own Interest, and this consideration will not suffer them to be Idle; but you will find when the Spoils come to be divided, your share will only be the infamy of having begun the Insurrection; unless you can be so credulous as to suppose

that the Families of the *Adorni* and the *Fregosi*, will resign to a Nobleman that Power and Pre-eminence, in the management of the Democracy, for which they have for so many years had mutual contests. They will give to your Rashness the honourable Character of Valour ; they will follow your Standards, because they shall be thereby free'd from their Subjection ; they will rejoyce to see the Nobility pull'd down by a Nobleman ; to see the Bowels of your Native Country pierc'd by your Weapons ; the Publick Tranquility disturb'd by your Madness ; and their own Tyranny once more set up by your folly : And while they preserve in a great measure their Reputation from being tainted with the infamy of promoting your wicked designs, (Pardon me, Sir, that I am so free as to call every thing by its true name) they will only wait at a due distance till the times invite them to share with you in the reward of your Labours, the glory of your Boldness, and the Triumphs of your Victory. And how deplorable would your circumstances then be ? Or to what Party could you without shame and blushes apply your self ? The Nobility will hate you for betraying them : The populace will deride you, and laugh at those Policies, whereby they only reap so great advantages ; your Country will detest you for having been the occasion of the loss of her Liberty : The Emperour who has

taken the Republick into his Protection, will be your declar'd Enemy: Nor can you with a secure confidence rely on the Friendship of the *French* King, who has himself aim'd at an absolute command over *Genova*. In a word, you will be odious to the whole World; for all Mankind do on very reasonable grounds detest treacherous Practices. I am indeed very unwilling to speak, what it is absolutely necessary you should hearken to and seriously consider; but the constant fidelity I have always shew'd in your Service, and the sincere affection I bear to your Person, inspire me with a boldness suitable to this occasion. I am afraid (may Heaven avert the ill Omens my mind portends), I tell you, Sir, I am more than ordinarily apprehensive, that these turbulent and unquiet thoughts are suggested by your evil Genius, which has destin'd you to the loss of your Reputation, your Life, and your Estate. You are sensible that *Jannetin Dorta* looks on you with an envious Eye, and you have sometimes complain'd to me, that you did not think your self secure from his treacherous designs: Why then, (Sir) will you furnish him with Arms to destroy you even by the Rules of Justice? How gladly will he embrace this opportunity of gratifying his private Revenge, under the colour of preserving his Country from Ruine and Confusion? How greatly will he rejoyce within himself, when he

shall hear that you have precipitately engag'd your self in such Resolutions, as will on very good grounds justify him and his Party in the forcible opposition he will openly make you? You will be declar'd the Disturber of the Publick Peace, an Enemy to the common Liberty, the betrayer of your Country, a rebel to the Republick, and (in a word) the *Catiline of Genoua*. I am struck with so much horror at the thoughts of it, that I have not the power to represent to you, how many Enemies this odious Character publickly given of you, will arm for your destruction; and these not only the Nobility, the Tradesmen, the Labourers, and the Mob of *Genoua*, (whose resistance perhaps you may think despicable) but also Foreign Princes and their Subjects, will oppose you with so unanimous a vigour, that the sad conclusion of the whole will be your sinking under the violence of this part of the World join'd together in a Confederacy, to punish your dangerous attempts by the infamous death of a Malefactor. Your territories will be forfeited to the Publick Bank: Your memory will be Scandalous and Detestable in the Annals of *Genoua*: *Jannetin* will be acknowledg'd as the second deliverer of his Country, and the restorer of her Liberties, and all his glory will be built upon your Ruines? Perhaps the gratitude of the *Genoueses* will induce them to set up near *Andrew Doria's* Statue, another

equally magnificent, to the Honour of *Jannetin*, in the Pedestal whereof shall be inscrib'd : *John Lewis de Fieschi the Publick Enemy subdu'd by Jannetin Doria, the Publick Benefactor*. Therefore let not the impetuous rashness of your age, and the violence of your resentments, hurry you into designs of so hazardous a Consequence ; but let the consideration of your Self, your Family, and your Vassals, lay some restraint on these blind and unruly Passions : Remember (Sir) what you owe to God, to your Country, to your Reputation, and to your Birth : Reflect with a generous compassion on the Miseries in which you will involve your Mother and your Wife : And by abandoning your present thoughts, free the minds of all that love you, from these just and necessary apprehensions. Your blooming Youth, and your early Valour are too rich a treasure, to be so prodigally Sacrific'd to the Mercy of Fortune. Therefore (your faithful Servant once more intreats you) enjoy with a contented mind the affluent Patrimony your Ancestors have left you, for you are yet in a station every way so eminent, that you may (if you please) live the object of *Jannetin's* envy, and beyond the reach of his Malice or his Treachery ?

This discourse of *Calcagno*, founded on so many powerful reasons, and coming from a Person who had given many undoubted Testimonies of his

zealous affection, made so good an impression on *Fieschi's* mind, that his resolutions seem'd to be pretty well inclin'd to the safer side: But *Verrina*, foreseeing that the whole design might yet be left unattempted, if he should suffer the Count calmly to consider of what had been alledg'd, he made this detestably impious, tho' plausible opposition, to the solid Arguments produced by *Calcagno*.

Would to God the affairs of the Republick were in those happy circumstances, that the Citizens might quietly enjoy their Estates; then (Sir) there would be no reason for you (as there is at present) to desire a Reformation: For, as *Calcagno* has well observ'd, there is no one at this time in *Genoua*, who is equal to you either in the extent of Territories, the Nobility of Birth, or a Treasury well furnish'd with ready Cash; and therefore (I am of his mind) it is not the part of a Wise Man when he is in Prosperity, to tempt his Fortune, which generally changes to his disadvantage. But Destiny, the cruel Enemy of your Repose, hath so entangled the affairs of the Republick, that unless you undertake some great, tho' hazardous design, you must inevitably Perish. *Jannetin Doria*, who for so many years has gratifi'd his ambitious thoughts, with the expectation of being Master of *Genoua*, cannot endure you who are so able to cope with him, and to ruin these his yast

Projects. The implicable hatred this Proud Man bears to you, you may plainly discover by his imperious Looks, and his contemptuous Behaviour: If you think these Testimonies fallible, surely you cannot but conclude, that since your purchase of the Gallies, you are (as a Nail struck through and clencht in his heart) an insupportable Torment to him. His Arrogance aims at the free and absolute Dominion of the Sea, nor will he suffer any one to presume to disturb him in his possession, or to share the power of it. How then can you suppose, that since Princes very often sacrifice their Brethren, Children, and even Parents, to a groundless Jealousie that they weaken the security of their Empire, *Jannetin* should suffer you to partake with him in his Maritime Dominion? His stubborn Nature, which will not bend, must therefore be forc'd to a Compliance. And you must either tamely resign your Gallies, and by a shameful Retirement to your own Palaces, yield him all that his Ambition craves; or you must by the Arts of Policy, and an unwearied Industry, excite against your Rival a sufficient number of Enemies to curb and restrain him. However, if you resolve to purchase your safety from the dangers now imminent, with the loss of your Reputation, and to accept of your Life as granted you by *Jannetin*; God forbid I should be too importunate an opposer of those Dictates of Self-

preservation ; tho' even his inveterate hatred cannot (I am sure) prompt him to wish you in circumstances more despicable and wretched. But the greatness of your mind checks my unworthy Suspicions of your Conduct, and promises that I shall see the Vanity and Pride of this Arrogant Man pull'd down and crusht by your Courage. Therefore (Sir) propose to your self, and that with an inflexible resolution, the undertaking this Enterprise, which is so brave, as even *Jannetin* himself will envy you for it. Fortune has placed between you two, the absolute Command of all *Liguria*, and it is impossible for either of you to acquire so great a Dignity, till he has (like *Tullia*) driven the Wheels of his Triumphant Chariot over the breast of his Competitour. He will be the surest of the Victory who can by the most expedite Methods dispatch his Enemy out of the World. There is an equal necessity lies on both of you, to take care of your safety ; therefore he will be the wisest of you, who by a swift and resolute Stroke, shall ruin his Adversaries slow Projects before they are half ripe. You must either be the Aggressor, or you must expect to be attack'd ; you must either fall into your Enemies Snares, or catch him in yours ; in a word you must either Kill or be Kill'd.

Perhaps *Calcagno* may think my expressions are too sharp ; but Necessity, which in desperate

Cases gives an edge to Fortitude, in Villainous Attempts shields the Innocent from danger and Infamy. Therefore let him blame *Jannetin's* Folly, your Countrey's Ingratitude, and the Injustice of your Partial Destiny, which have plung'd you in these inevitable Difficulties. While you stand upon your own defence, you injure none, but only obey the Dictates of Nature. And when you see a Tempest of ill Accidents threatening your Ruin, Prudence will direct you, to throw them (if you can) on your Enemy's Head : If this carries along with it some colour of Injustice, who can blame you for it, when Providence has left you no other means to secure your own Life, but by the death of your Rival, nor permits you to defend your Innocence and exert your Courage in any other Methods, but those of Villainy? But why do I give it so undeserv'd an Epithete? That Term you have learn'd (Friend *Calcagno*,) from the Trivial Notions of some Pedant, whose humble studies never gave him an insight into *Machiavel's* Rules of Policy. These reproachful Characters are (I grant you,) fix'd on the Actions of Private Men, when for their Covetous Ends they inroach on their Neighbours: But shou'd you by this Rule involve under the same Odium the Gallant Undertakings of Princes, all the Empires and Principalities of the World wou'd be founded on Villainy, for they all at first

began, and have since increas'd, by Oppression ; the weaker being still crush'd by the power of the stronger. By Nature all Men are on a Level ; 'tis Boldness and Courage only that in favour of some particular Men destroys this equality. Hence those who by subtlety or force cou'd possess themselves of the Supreme Power, have assum'd the Magnificent Stile of Emperors, Kings, and Princes. Perhaps some few (like *Caligano*) may, because they distrust the success, blame your Resolution : For hazardous Attempts are never prais'd, till they are compleatly executed : Then the happy Event, makes the Undertaking appear not only Lawful but Honourable ; and what before was censur'd as Rashness, shall then receive the Encomium of Valour and Conduct. Thus while *Julius Caesar* the Dictator was at the head of his Army striving for the *Roman* Empire, not only *Pompey*, but the greatest part of the Senate, stuck obstinately to the defence of their Privileges, and declar'd themselves his Enemies ; but when the Battle of *Pharsalia* had decided the Controversie, by the Total Rout of *Pompey's* Forces, and he had taken upon him the Government of the Republick, those Hatreds and Prejudices were quite extinguish'd, and how sincerely the *Romans* loved him, their Remarkable Zeal in Prosecuting and Punishing his Murtherers will sufficiently inform you. Let the *Genoueses* then for a while call you Tyrant and

Usurper, and trouble not your self at these Reproaches, which will only be the impertinent expressions of their Malice, and the last groans of their expiring Liberty. By degrees they will accustom themselves to acknowledge and respect you as their Lawful Prince. You see (Sir,) how firmly I rely on your good Fortune; since I call this Principality yours, even before I see any preparations made for the acquiring of it. But the present posture of affairs is such, that *Genova* must be yours if you are not wanting to your self: For though there are (as *Calcagno* thinks) some obstacles in your way, yet how easily may they be surmounted by your Forces, which are so much superior to them? And suppose there were such Hazards and Difficulties in this Enterprise as have been represented, 'tis no more than has been the Fate of all Ancient and Modern Hero's, as History will inform you. Great Undertakings are always accompanied with great Dangers; as (you see) the highest Hills border on the steepest Precipices. And what Man of a daring Spirit, and aspiring Thoughts, wou'd ever, for the uncertain fear of some eminent Misfortunes, yield himself a willing Prey to Calamities that must unavoidably fall upon him? 'Tis indeed the best Counsel can be given to private Men, to rest satisfied with a competent Fortune; but in affairs of State these trimming Counsels are pernicious,

especially where the execution of the grand design opens the Scene. For then 'tis so far out of our power, either to retrieve past Errors, or politickly to regulate each step of future proceedings, that we must either gain the utmost point we aim at, or meet our Ruin in the prosecution of it. But let us not suppose so sad an Event of our Undertaking: 'Tis a necessary piece of Sagacity to have a prospect of distant Misfortunes; not that we should torment our selves with the daily expectation of them, but that prudent Considerations may pull out their sting, and make them more tolerable; 'tis fit, indeed, that we shou'd proceed cautiously, but then we must take care that an excess of Caution do not abate our Courage, or slacken our Resolution. Something, after all, must be left to the disposal of Providence, and the direction of your good *Genius*, which having chosen you to be the deliverer of *Genoua*, and the Restorer of the Ancient Renown of *Italy*, will certainly find a way to extricate you out of all your Difficulties: Therefore why shou'd you refuse to accept the Monopoly of these Favours which Fortune liberally offers you? To what end shou'd you call in the *French* to share with you both your Fame and your Conquests? They have lost their own Reputation, as well as their Territories on this side of the *Alpes*; and their Spirits are no less sunk than their Credit,

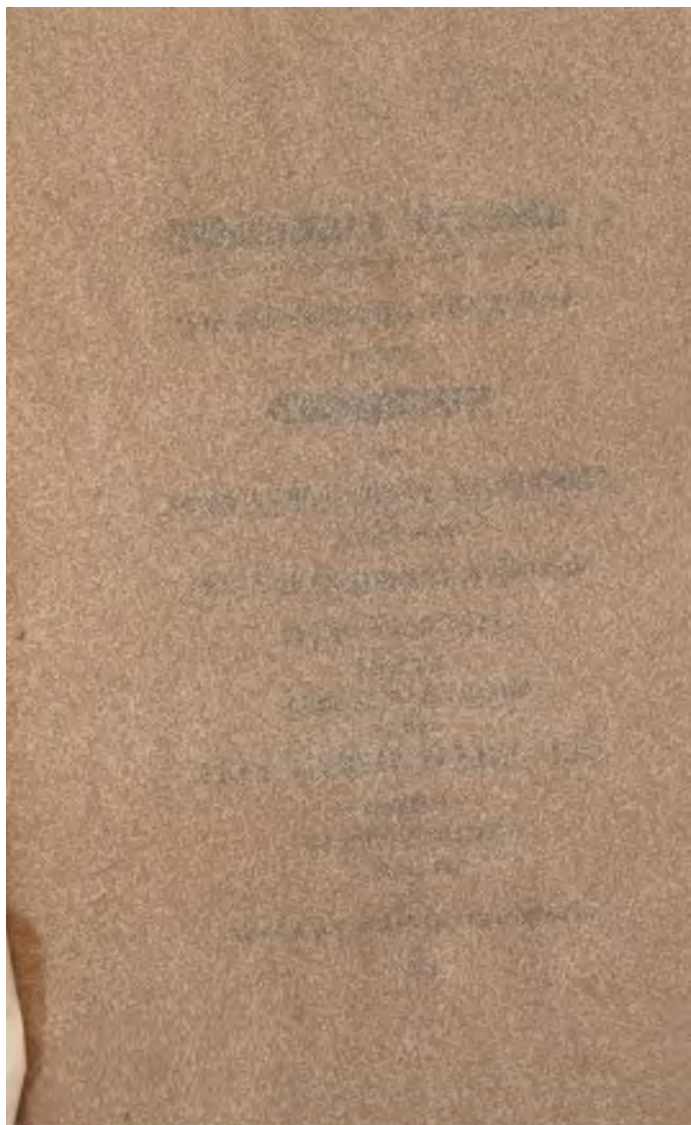
since King *Francis's* imprisonment, so that they are hardly able to secure their Frontiers from the Emperor's Forces, whose Triumphs have already reach'd to the bordering parts of *Germany*. Besides this, I beg you wou'd look back on their inveterate Hatred to the *Italian* Nation ; and let their Usage of *Andrew Doria*, be a warning to you ; who after he had serv'd that Crown, with so much Honour and Success, met with such unworthy Treatment, by the influence of the Nobility (for they cou'd not allow even him so high a place in the King's Favour, till his Gold had purchas'd their Intercession in order to it,) that he was forc'd to accept the Emperor's Protection, and to serve under him. 'Tis true, the *French* King has many Accomplishments truly Royal but yet he suffers (as almost all great Princes do) the Inconveniences of being impos'd upon by his Ministers of State ; of whose worth and integrity he has so excessive an esteem deeply impress'd on his Mind, that there is no Prince more liable to be ensnar'd by the Artifices of his Courtiers, nor any less sensible of his Infirmary, and of the ill Consequences of it. You must either therefore be a Slave to these Ambitious and Covetous Men, or else you may assuredly expect to lose (as *Doria* has already done), both the King's Favour, and the uncertain Rewards of your past Services. But what Recompence can the *French* make you, suit-

able to the Hazards and Fatigues you will undergo for them? Perhaps they will entrust you with the Government of *Genoua*, encumbred with the vile dependences I told you of: But this would be to abase yourself to the inferior quality of a mercenary Officer in that Country, wherein Nature has already given you so large a share of Power, and seems to promise you the absolute Command. And if the Emperor, or the City, should make a vigorous opposition to your designs, with what Succours can the French assist you, whose Territories are at so vast a distance, and who are themselves strangely disorder'd by intestine Jealousies and Animosities? 'Tis undoubtedly certain that you must rely on the Loyalty of your own Subjects and the sincerity of your Friends and Allies; and why shou'd you not make use of these Forces (so properly your own) to set on your own head a Crown so fit for you, and which you so justly deserve? Then, when your Power over *Genoua* is thoroughly settled, and you have in your possession the Keys of the Maritime Gate into *Italy*, the greatest Kings in Christendom will be Ambitious to be your friends and Confederates. Then the Envy of your Competitors being Conquer'd, we shall see the Family of *Fieschi* rais'd to a higher Dignity than any Family of *Genoua* ever yet arriv'd to. Then your Enemies, who have despis'd and ridicul'd your Youth, being crush'd under your

Feet, you will have it in your Power to satiate your Revenge in their Blood. *Jannetin*, even *Jannetin Doria* himself, your Treacherous Enemy, in spight of his Pride, and notwithstanding his Nobility, the station he so much boasts of, will fall a suppliant at your Feet, will Reverence you as his Lord, and Obey you as his Prince ; by your Nods he will Regulate his Actions, your Will shall give Law to his Desires, and he shall acknowledg that he holds his Life only during your pleasure. Therefore let the *French* keep at home, and there let them hear the Echoes of your resounding Triumphs.

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AN HISTORICAL RELATION

OF THE

Conspiracy

OF

JOHN LEWIS, COUNT DE FIESCHI,

AGAINST THE

City and Republick of Genoua,

in the Year 1547.

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DONE INTO ENGLISH

BY THE

HON. HUGH HARE, Esq.



IN TWO VOLUMES.

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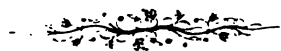
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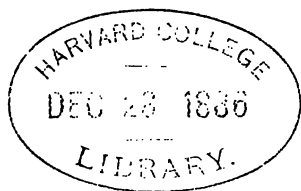
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An Historical Relation of the
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Count Fieschi.





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A RELATION
OF THE
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OF
JOHN LEWIS, COUNT DE FIESCHI.



To his former arguments *Verrina* added, " But it is your part (Sir) Vigorously to oppose and surmount all Obstacles, which may make the Execution of your Project seem difficult : Perform it (I beseech you) with a Courage and Boldness worthy of your Birth. Let the Merit of your own Exploits purchase that Renown which Heaven has decreed you : Let the World see that you owe your Advancement only to your self : And though the hopes I entertain'd of you are vastly large, let your Actions exceed them : In short,

do not sheath your Sword till you have entail'd this Princely Dignity on your Family, and thereby secur'd to your own Name an *Immortal Reputation*."

Fieschi, till now, never thought of acquiring the Principality of *Genova* for himself, but for the *French* King; being content to reduce the excessive Power of the *Doria's* into narrower Limits, and to better his own Condition by calling in the *French*. But being desirous of Glory, and naturally inclin'd to attempt hazardous Undertakings, it proved no difficult matter for *Verrina* to dissuade him from his Affection to the *French*, by proposing to him these methods of setting up himself: Which having over-balanced the weight of *Calcagno's* Reasons, hurried him on to the execution of a Project, both Villainous and Dangerous in the highest degree. However, he was much shocked at the apprehension of the difficulties which wou'd attend his design without the assistance of the *French* Forces: And *Raphael Sacco* made it his endeavour to confirm him in these Perplexities, out of a partial Affection to *France*, his Native Country; he advis'd him to accept of the Conditions proposed to him in the King's Name by Cardinal *Trivulce*, and to Act by that Model, till a silent and successful progress should open a Path towards the compleating his grand design.

But *Verrina*, who looked upon all Moderation as extremely prejudicial in an affair which required an inflexible Resolution, appli'd himself to remove those difficulties which made *Fieschi* grow lukewarm in it. He repli'd with great vehemence, that to be terrifi'd with Fantasms, was below the Spirit of a Nobleman : That the Garrison in *Genoua* consisted not of above Two Hundred Men ; That *Doria's* Gallies, though many in number, were not now in a posture of defence ; the Season of the Year obliging them to be laid up in their Harbours ; that *Andrew* and *Jannetin* were so far from suspecting any Violence, that both their Persons and their Houses were without a Guard : That the Count might quickly bring in a good number of the likeliest Men that the Neighbouring Countrey and Villages wou'd afford, and that these should Kill the Two *Doria's* in their own House : That it wou'd be easie at the same time to send another party of Men by Sea to seize *Doria's* Gallies : That the remaining part of the design wou'd effect it self, the Populace bearing such an Inveterate hatred to the Nobility, that a slender invitation wou'd be sufficient to make them espouse his Quarrel : And that he himself had already dispos'd their Minds for it, and wou'd take care they shou'd not fail to rise when their Assistance shou'd be requisite.

These and several other things subtilly aggra-

vated by *Verrina*, who knew how great an influence he had over *Fieschi*, dissipated all his Doubts, and fixing his Resolution to proceed according as *Verrina* had perswaded him. Here-upon he set his thoughts to devise a Method how to bring this affair to a happy conclusion. The first and unanimous Resolution of all the Conspirators was, That since the safety of the present Government depended so entirely on the lives of the *Doria's*, 'twas absolutely necessary in order to a change of the constitution, that they two shou'd be kill'd : And to make sure of a complete Revenge, it was likewise resolv'd that *Adam Centurio*, Father-in-Law to *Jannetin*, and several of the Prime of the Nobility should be us'd in the same manner. As soon as Count *Fieschi* began to entertain thoughts of this Project, and after he had bought the Gallies, he retir'd into his own Territories ; where he spent his time chiefly in training and reviewing the Militia of those Countries, pretending that he apprehended an Invasion from his Neighbour, the Duke of *Piacenza*, whereas his real design was to make his Subjects capable of serving him in his undertaking against the Republick. Towards the latter end of the Autumn he return'd to *Genoua*, where he us'd great Artifice to obtain the Friendship of those Senators who were of the Popular Faction : He insinuated himself into their acquaintance with a

wonderful Affability : To some of them he made liberal Presents : Others he assisted both in paying their Debts, and in making a party for them to gain the preference they desir'd : To every one of them he appli'd himself with all possible demonstrations of a sincere Friendship. And being of very quick wit, and naturally very easie, and complaisant, 'tis hardly credible how soon he gain'd an entire Confidence with them, and thereby secur'd himself of the assistance of their dependents. When he found that he had won their Affections, and could rely upon their Secrecy, he began, as opportunities were offer'd, to speak of the Tyrannical Government of the Nobility, sometimes showing by his Speeches (which were often interrupted by dissembled sighs) how much he pitti'd the sad Estate of the Populace ; sometimes hinting that, if they would not be wanting to themselves, some effectual remedy might be found out, to repress the Arrogance of the Nobility ; at other times he advis'd them with the sharpest Ironies to Passive Obedience under their Slavery, leaving always in their minds a greater Propension to Discontent, by his perplexed and dubious Expressions ; But above all, if any accident happen'd which cross'd the Inclinations of the Popular Faction, he took occasion from thence to discourse largely to them of the Male-Administration of Affairs, under the

present Government. Nor did he disdain to seek with diligence the good opinion of the meanest *Plebeians*, but was always ready to court them, with smiles and affable discourse, and he took care to please their eyes with the dazzling splendor of his Cloaths. These Artificial Advantages were much set off by a graceful Person and a face adorn'd with all the charms of a healthy Youth. His Air and his Behaviour were so extremel genteel and easie, that he fail'd not to gain the Peoples' affections as soon as he shew'd himself in Publick to them ; which he often did for the ends. and according to the Methods* unhappy deluded *Absolom* formerly pursued.

Besides this he delighted frequently to exercise his skill in Martial Discipline and Horsemanship, for the excellent performance of both which, his body was so proportionably fram'd, that in this posture especially he always appear'd a most lovely object to the Spectators.

But because the reputation of Liberality is the certainest Snare to entangle the Mobile, Count *Fieschi* (as is reported) called to him one day† the Warden of the Silk-weavers Company, of whom there is in *Genoua* a very great number. He askt him very civilly concerning the circumstances

* *Marginal Reading*.—2 Sam. xiv. 25.

† *Marginal Reading*.—il Console.

of his Associates, and understanding that they were reduc'd to extreme want (their Trade in *Genova* being much decay'd by the excessive increase of it in other Places) he express'd a most tender compassion towards the poor Sufferers, saying, he would not abandon them at a time of so great necessity ; and therefore order'd that those whose Poverty was known to be most press-should be secretly sent to his House to be reliev'd. The next day a great number of these Wretches flockt together to visit their Benefactor ; who, to signalise his Liberality, caus'd a large quantity of Corn to be divided among them, telling them, that as the relieving the needy and the afflicted, had always been the Character of the Family, so he would never by any means degenerate from his Ancestors, therefore, whenever they wanted sustenance for their Families, they might confidently expect it from him, and (tho' their modesty should refrain them from the importunity of Beggars) they might at any time find at his House all necessaries ready provided for them. Thus did he add a greater lustre to his Bounty, by seeming desirous to conceal from the view of the world, both that and the miseries of the persons reliev'd : Who went home no less chear'd by the assistance, than astonished at the liberality of Count *Fieschi*, who they thought deserv'd as a reward from Heaven, the highest dignities and the happiest success.

However, being apprehensive that the Nobility would suspect his designs, if he made it his whole business to gain the affections of the Mobile, his next study was how to poize the Balance so even, as to secure himself of a confidence and friendship with both. To this end he perfected himself in the art of Dissimulation: He went oftner than usual to visit the *Doria's*, and not only made professions of an affectionate esteem for *Andrew*, (to whom he openly declar'd himself to be under many obligations), but also disguising the inveterate hatred he bore to *Jannetin*, he treated him with the intimacy of a Friend, asking his advice and praying his assistance in the management of his concerns. And because there had formerly been some quarrels between them, which had imbitter'd their Spirits towards one another, he begg'd of *Jannetin*, with the promises of a sincere kindness for the future, that he would absolutely forget what was past.

By the secret League between the Duke of *Piacenza* and Count *Fischi*, the Duke agreed to send him two thousand Men, which with two thousand more rais'd in the Count's Territories, were thought sufficient to quell the risings of the Citizens if they should oppose him; and to this end he sent one of his Gallies to the coasts of *Genova*, under the pretence of fitting and manning it for a Maritime Expedition against the *Algerines*.

and other *Infidels* in their own Seas. Nor was *Verrina* wanting to forward these designs ; for he made it his business to gain over to *Fieschi* as great a party as he could ; and being expert in the Artifices of Popularity, he, in a little time, engag'd some hundreds of the Populace under a promise, to stand by him in a great undertaking that was then carrying on for their advantage.

By these preparatory Methods they thought they had laid a sufficient Foundation for their Project, and therefore held another consult to determine in what manner they should attempt the final Execution of it. Their first Opinion was that there should be notice given of the Solemnity of an extraordinary Mass to be celebrated in St. *Andrew's* Church, into which the two *Doria's*, and those of the Nobility whose lives they aim'd at, should be invited. But this resolution appear'd no less certain as to the success of it than Inhumane and Sacrilegious ; for they thought it was very probable *Andrew Doria* would excuse his absence on the account of his great Age, and send in his stead *Philippea* or some other near Relation with his accusom'd offering. And it shocked them not a little to consider how horrid a thing it would be, to begin their enterprise with so unparallel'd a Prophanation of the Church, and of the highest Mysteries of Religion. This proposal therefore was absolutely rejected ; altho'

Verrina, as he was prompted by the violence of his temper, assur'd them he would at that very instant dispatch *Andrew*, under the plausible disguise of a friendly visit. But as Men when once they have broken through the Restraints of of Vertue, fall headlong into all manner of Wickedness, so these slender remains of a modest Scrupulosity, which checkt them in their former resolution, a little after prov'd too weak to hinder them from projecting a more destable piece of Villany.

For it hapning about this time, that the Marriage was to be celebrated between *Julius Cibo* Marquess of *Massa*, related to *Fieschi*, and one of *Jannetin Doria's* Sisters ; it was resolv'd that *Fieschi* should invite the Bride and several Ladies to Supper, and with them not only the two *Doria's*, but also those of the Nobility whom they thought the most dangerous Enemies to their Project, all of whom were to be Murthered barbarously, by hir'd Ruffians, conceal'd in the House for that purpose,* against the sacred Laws of Hospitality and Converse. That immediately after the commission of this unparallel'd Treachery, *Fieschi* attended with his Guards should ride about the Streets of *Genoua*, calling upon the Mob to assist

* *Marginal Reading.* — “Inter sacra mensæ.”
Thuanus in Anno 1547.

him, in the Recovery of their Liberty : That during these Tumults, some of the Count's Party should possess themselves of the Town Hall, where *Verrini* in a plausible Harangue should discover to the Populace, *Fieschi's* intention to change the state of *Genoua* into an absolute Monarchy, and having represented to them how necessary it was to reform the Government, which had been so much corrupted by the insolence and selfishness of the Nobility, should Crown the Count *Fieschi* Duke of *Genoua*, and force the *Plebeians*, whom they before hand brib'd to it, to swear Allegiance to him ; and if any Man either by his Words or Actions should testifie his dislike, he should be presently kill'd.

To compleat this design the more easily, it was order'd that the ablest Soldiers the Count had, shou'd in the least suspected manner they cou'd, lodge themselves in *Genoua*, and the Duke of *Piacenza* was again solicited to hasten the promised Succors. These Transactions (especially the raising of Soldiers) cou'd not be manag'd so secretly, but *Don Fernand Gonsaga*, whom the Emperour had appointed Governour of the Dutchy of *Milan*, in the room of the Marquess *del Vasto*, had very shrewd suspicions of what was intended : For watching carefully, for the security of his own Government, over every Motion of his Neighbours, and receiving constant intelligence concern-

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Beauty wou'd attempt so cruel a piece of Villany ? Nor did he change his opinion when *Gonzaga* having from the Court of *France* receiv'd some Confirmation of his former suspicions, sent another Message to him, seriously advising him to search to the bottom of the design ; informing him likewise, that the Pope's Gallies were ready at *Civita Vecchia*, and the *French* Gallies in the Port of *Marseilles*, to support and assist, if occasion were, the Fortune of *Fieschi*.

And certainly did not History mention several very eminent Persons, who on light Grounds were incredulous to what they heard concerning Designs against themselves, *Andrew Doria's* excessive good Nature wou'd deserve a sharp Censure : For that when he had such assurances given him, that his own Life, and, through that, the Constitution of the Republick was aim'd at, he gave greater Credit to *Fieschi's* dissembled Looks and Actions, than to the pregnant Evidences of so foul a Conspiracy ; as if it were not usual for those who have such designs in hand, to dissemble, for a while, their intended Mischief under a smooth Countenance ; or as if any Care and Vigilance were too much to preserve one's own Life in Safety, and one's Countrey from Ruin. But since Ancient Histories afford us several Examples of very Wise Men, who have suffered themselves to be deluded by a fatal Incredulity in matters of the greatest

importance, we may reasonably affirm, that these Events preordain'd, or inevitably permitted, by an over-ruling Providence, cou'd not be compleated, but by these Momentary Mistakes of the wisest Politicians, (as an Epidemical Distemper may sometimes seize on the soundest body) that we may not attribute too much to Worldly Wisdom, when we find it so defective in matters of the greatest moment.: But certainly *Paul Pansa* was much more overseen, who viewing *Fieschi's* Action with a careful and friendly Eye, from the time that he bought the Gallies, cou'd not but suspect there was some extraordinary design in hand, and yet did not then give that Check to it which his Station and Dignity allowed. The Transactions which he every Day saw and heard were just occasion for the increase of these suspicions. For *Fieschi*, whose usual custom it had been to impart to *Pansa* his most secret affairs and designs, now became very close and reserv'd to him, and very frequent in his Consultations with his other ill chosen Confidents, whose Characters I have before represented. For although, while he entertain'd his Friends, or appeared on Horse-back in the streets of *Genova*, he wonderfully disguis'd his thoughts from the publick view, by a dissembled chearfulness in his countenance and and behaviour, yet when he return'd home the Scene was quite chang'd, and the perplexing

agitations of his Soul plainly discover'd themselves by a profound Melancholy, and a wild distracted Look. His aim in concealing his designs from *Pansa's* knowledge, was only because he knew for certain, a Man so well principl'd in Piety and Morality, wou'd use his utmost endeavour to deterr him from so wicked an Enterprise: Or at least he suspected that *Pansa*, who had been bred up at a distance from the warlike sound of Drums and Trumpets, under the Peaceful Influence of the Muses, (who had always a quiet retreat from Noise and Tumult) wou'd examine every Circumstance of the Project with an excessive Caution and dissuade him from proceeding in it beyond the limits of security; which in undertakings of this Nature no Man ought to flatter himself with, because 'tis utterly impossible.

One Day, it so happen'd that Count *Fieschi* being after his return home, more than ordinarily disturb'd with Melancholy Thoughts, and *Pansa* perceiving by the apparent uneasiness in his Looks and Behaviour, that his Mind was strangely dis-temper'd, he resolv'd immediately to discourse with him concerning it, lest if he shou'd delay any longer, the Disease might grow incurable, before any Remedy were administered. Finding him therefore retired into a private Apartment, he accosted him in this manner.

“As it is very unbefitting a well-bred Person

to pry into the secrets of others, so it is on the other hand very laudable to conceal what is so imparted ; and as I have not given you my promise of Secrecy, because I hope all my Actions have sufficiently demonstrated my Fidelity, so I have hitherto forborn enquiring into your Concerns, least I shou'd be guilty of anything that might incur your displeasure. Nevertheless your unaccustomed reservedness plainly declares to me, that the Project you are designing is of the highest moment, since you take such pains to hide it from your Friends. Your Looks, so full of disturbance and inquietude, give me occasion to share with you in your sollicitious Apprehensions ; and though I know not the reason, yet I am full of fears for your safety. This proceeds from no other cause, (Sir) but the excess of my Love to your Person, and my sincere and ardent Wishes (as is my duty) for your Prosperity. For how can I perswade my self that what you aim at is really desirable, since the thoughts of it do so violently shock the usual Serenity of your Mind ? Certainly the conclusion of that affair, which, though yet in Embryo, gives you these disturbances, cannot be so tranquil as a Man wou'd wish ; And this mighty Inquietude and Commotion of your Soul, is but an unhappy Omen of the unsuccessful Event of your Enterprize. I will not pretend to dive into the Secret which you

have thought fit to conceal from me : (thought what Service am I able to do you, if you at all suspect my Truth and Faithfulness ?) but (pray Sir consider) whither can their perswasions lead you, whose Conversation always leaves you oppress'd with a load of Cares and Discontents ? And (if you will allow me to probe your Wound, that it may the more easily be cur'd,) I do more than doubt, that these your secret Conferences with crafty and ill designing Persons, will by degrees alienate your Mind from the Rules of Vertue and True Honour. Their Piety is not so sincere, nor their Moral Principles so well founded, that I can expect they shou'd give you any advise consistent with your Honour or Religion. Perhaps they impose on the Candour of your Nature, and the small experience of your Years, thinking, that because your temper is inclinable to the pursuit of Glorious Actions, you will the more easily join with them in any rash Project, which they shall disguise under those colours. Shut not your Eyes (I beg you Sir) against these dangers, but rather exert your utmost and most diligent Attention : For one Mad Man may push you into a precipice, from whence a Thousand Wise Men with all their Arts cannot retrieve you.

'Tis an easie matter to set your own, or your Neighbour's House on Fire, but how much Toil

and Labour and Sweat will it cost to stop and extinguish it? Therefore (pray Sir) take good heed that these Fellows do not make you their Property to bring about their own Ends; and by their deceiving you into an irreparable loss, do not from thence build up their own Fortunes. There are but few Counsellors (too few alas!) so honest, as without the prospect of Self-Interests, to promote and aim at what is Just and Honourable; therefore it is absolutely necessary for you to try them by this Touch-stone. For my part I cannot persuade my self, that those, whose Lives are a continued Scene of Flagitious Crimes, will ever instill or advance the progress of Virtue in any other Person. For although a Man's Discourse and his Actions may be seperately consider'd, nevertheless, Experience informs us, that a good Example preaches Reformation more effectually than the most Eloquent Discourses; for these grow contemptible when the daily practice of him that gives the Advice contradicts his Exhortations. Therefore (Sir) what unreasonable things do your importunate Confidants demand of you? Into what new and dangerous designs doe they endeavour to wheedle you? Your Circumstances cannot be better'd by any publick Confusions, though their's may. Fortune, which has so long smil'd on your Family, may very probably alter her Countenance to an Angry Frown, shou'd you be so imprudent as to

irritate her; and (I almost dare assure you) every alteration that may happen, will be much less desirable than your present Condition. Envy has a long time been endeavouring to canker your Happiness, and when your Mind and your Affairs are once in a disorder, that unlucky Fury will quickly force her entrance, by the means of several Persons, now much your inferiours both in Honour and Estate, who make it their business to find some reasonable grounds, on which to found their Calumnies against you.

'Tis true, the chief delights of Youth flow from the Prospect their large Hopes afford them: But 'tis as true, no state is more dangerous than a secure Prosperity. Therefore, pray Sir, take care that (according to the Fable of our Ancient Mythologist) you lose not the real Substance which you now possess, by catching at a distant and uncertain, though perhaps, a very tempting Shadow. They (alas!) who fill your Head with these designs, have nothing of their own to lose: Tumults, Seditions, and publick Anarchy, afford such Wretches, Shelter, Maintenance, and, too often, an increase of Honour and Riches; for those whose Fortunes are low built, cannot fear, as the great ones do, any shock in their easie descent to Ruin and Beggary. But (Sir) for you it is absolutely necessary to order your steps with Caution: for Fame expects it from you, that your

Actions, if they do not exceed (as I hope they will) yet at least shall not come behind, the performances of your Ancestors."

Fieschi heard this discourse with great uneasiness and impatience; for his resolutions were unalterably fix'd on the design from which *Pansa* tri'd to dissuade him; nevertheless with some marks of Confusion in his Looks and Gesture, he returned him this Answer in few words, *That he propos'd no Aims to himself but those that were Generous and Worthy of his Birth, which in due time he wou'd be sure to acquaint him withal.*

While the Conspirators were in great expectations of the Day appointed for the Feast, (which was to be the Fourth of *January*) there happen'd an Accident which forc'd them to hasten the execution of their Project, though to their unspeakable regret, because it deprived them of the opportunity of cutting off a great part of the Nobility, whom otherwise they might have surpriz'd all together, they being then to assemble for the chusing a new Duke of that Republic. For *Andrew Doria* being seiz'd with a Violent Fit of the Gout, which with its excessive Torments threw him into a dangerous Fever, he cou'd not meet according to his promise; and *Jannetin* was oblig'd by some urgent business to leave *Genova*. So that *Fieschi*, and his Confidants, considering

that Conspiracies have often been ruin'd, but hardly ever forwarded by unnecessary delays, resolv'd that on the Second of *January*, very early in the Morning, or as soon as they cou'd possibly get ready the preceding night, they wou'd, put their great design in execution. Here-upon *Fieschi* began to give out, that he wou'd send out one of his Gallies to molest the *Corsaires*, for the Pope allowing him but just enough to maintain Three, he was desirous to supply his Fourth Galley with all Necessaries, by the Prizes she shou'd take from the Infidels. By this specious and well disguis'd Artifice he brought in several of the Men sent him from *Piacenza*, and some of his own Vassals, pretending he wou'd chuse out the likeliest of them for his Expedition: And least the number of those that came from *Piacenza* shou'd seem to exceed what was requisite for the Manning a Galley, and thereby give some suspicion of a farther design in it, he caused some of them to be chain'd together, and so led like Men design'd for the Oar: Others he caus'd to be disarmed, and to come into the City by several of the Gates, and he afterwards took care to furnish them with Arms. Then for the more easie deceiving of *Jannetin*, he first imparted this his Project to him as a Token of his Friendship, requesting him earnestly to interceed with *Andrew Doria*, that there might be no Obstacle put to his Enterprize;

for, as he pretended, he was under some apprehensions, least in pursuance of the Truce between *Solyman* the Grand Seignior, and the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, he might be stop'd in his intentions of Privateering.

On the First of *January*, (the Day preceding that Night which had like to have been Fatal to *Genova*) Count *Fieschi* sent for certain Soldiers of the City Guards to his Palace, some of whom were his own Subjects, others had by his means obtain'd their Freedoms of the City of *Genova*; having done this, he went to *Andrew Doria's* House, where he staid till it grew late, expressing all the Marks of a Cordial Love and True Respect for him and his Family: And it so happening, that *John Adorea*, and *Pagano*, Two Young Children of *Jannetin's*, as they were playing about the House met *Fieschi*, he took them in his Arms and kiss'd them several times in the presence of their Father. Just as he was going, he again desir'd *Jannetin*, to order his Soldiers not to stop his Galley, which was that Night to begin its Voyage towards the *Agran* Sea, and earnestly intreated him not to be disturb'd if he shou'd hear the discharging of guns, or any other Noise; for those Enterprizes (as he very well knew) cou'd not be manag'd without some sort of Tumult. When Day was quite shut in, Count *Fieschi* caus'd all those Armed Men, whose Assistance he thought

requisite, to come into his Palace: Those, of whose Courage and Fidelity he had had the greatest experience, he posted at all the gates and Avenues, giving 'em strict Orders to let all enter that wou'd, but to suffer none to go out again.

Count *Fieschi's* Palace was situated in that higher part of *Genoua*, which is call'd *Carignan*, a place, as it were, divided from the rest of the City. For as two sides of it are bounded by the Walls of *Genoua*, so from the East it views the delightful *Villa's* of *Albaro*, and the pleasant Valley of *Bisagne*, and its front is towards the Sea. Thus by its lofty situation it is in a manner separated from, and proudly seems to domineer over the City that lies at its Feet. On this Ascent, and in an Island, stood *Fieschi's* Palace: So that 'twas as conveniently plac'd, as cou'd be, for carrying on such a design; for none of the adjacent Houses cou'd be at all Alarm'd by the Tumultuous Noise of Military preparations.

When they came to set the Watch in the Castle of *Genoua*, *Gigante Corso* the Governour (whose Integrity was equal to his Valour) found several of his Soldiers missing: And having enquir'd diligently at their several Quarters, he receiv'd information, that Count *Fieschi* had entic'd them to follow him to *Carignan*. The Novelty of the thing made him suspect some dangerous design; so that he immediately imparted, what he had

observ'd, to *Doria*, and to the Senators that kept their Residence in the Ducal Palace.

Now began to appear the Fatal Effects of *Fieschi's* cautious Hypocrisie ; for *Jannetin Doria*, being preposses'd with the Count's pretended design of fitting out a Galley, dissipated these Suspicions, by declaring to them (what he thought was real) that *Fieschi* had recall'd these Soldiers, his Subjects and Dependants, to serve him in Privateering towards the *Levant*.

Thus short sighted are the Apprehensions of us Mortals, who too often think our selves secure, when our Enemy hath not only designed, but is just upon the point, of compleating our Ruin.

Count *Fieschi*, after he had staid a while in his own Palace to give necessary Orders, went out again to visit some of the Merry Meetings,* which in the depth of Winter the Nobility use to keep by turns in their several Houses. About Four Hours after he had began his Rounds, he came to *Thomas Assereto's* House, where he found got together, by the contrivance of *Verrina*, Three and Twenty Young Gentlemen who favour'd the Popular Faction. He staid there with them a while, entertaining them with great Civility, and then invited them to Sup with him at *Carignan* ; towards which he urg'd this as a great inducement,

* *Marginal note.*—Le Veglie.

that the Night was calm, and the Moon shone clear. As soon as they came to *Carignan*, he carri'd them into some of the farthest Apartments, and order'd *Pansa* to keep his Wife *Leonora* at the other end of the House, till he came to her, which should be in a little time. This Lady was of the illustrious Family of *Cibo*, Sister to *Julius*, Marquiss of *Massa*, and to *Aubrey*, who after he had liv'd to see a Century of Years compleated, and had enjoy'd a Prosperous, though decrepit, Old Age, Died in the Year 1623, being Honour'd and Lamented by all *Italy*.

While these things were transacting in *Fieschi's* Palace, *Verrina* very cunningly went into the City as a Scout to spy, whether there was any motion or disturbance in the Ducal, or at *Doria's* Palace, or in any other part of *Genoua*.

In the mean time *Fieschi's* Guests look'd on one another, being mightily Amaz'd to see the House more than usually full of Arms and Arm'd Men: But at last the Count himself, whose Countenance was quite chang'd, (whether by the Apprehensions of the Parricide he was just going to commit, or by the excess of his Rage and Malice against *Jannetin*, which having been hitherto stifled within his Breast, began now plainly to shew itself in his Looks and Words), leaning upon the Table, and having struck it with great Vehemence, spoke to them in this manner.

Gentlemen,

“Matters have now come to that pass, that no one who has a drop of noble Blood in his Veins, can any longer tamely bear these Oppressions. My patience and constancy have long since been shockt, by the dreadful prospect of my Country's Ruine, and my Countrymen's falling under the Tyranny design'd for them by an ungrateful Villain. Were it possible that these dangerous Distempers, which have already attackt the vitals of the Republick, could receive any remedy by our delays, I for my part would be very willing to consent to any Truce which might secure our common Safety: But since our affairs are driven to the last Extremity, there lies a necessity upon us to exert our utmost force for the preservation of our Country from Ruin. Dangers such as ours are to be conquer'd by a bold Resistance, for nothing increases the weight of them more than a lazy expectation of Events. *Jannetin Doria* hath long since been surfeited with a series of prosperous successes attending him: Now he is become a Vassal to Ambition, that tormenting extravagancy of the mind, and is got so near to the conclusion of his wicked designs, that neither fear nor modesty restrain him from threatening (more by Actions than by words) *Genova* with Servitude, and me with Death. Was it not enough for this Villain to behold the

Genouese Populace, who but a little while agoe possess the Sovereignty of all *Liguria*, now depriv'd of that power and dignity, and subjected to the insolent scorn of the Nobility; but must he aim at enslaving us to an absolute Monarchy, wherewith he is designing to invest himself? To this purpose he grows uneasie at his present condition, and in his own Country (which yet enjoys the happiness of being a free State) he puts on the barbarity of a Foreign Invader; his Pride and Stubbornness are so great, that they cannot be mollified by our humble and modest compliance, nor can we by any Methods, how cautious soever, escape the fatal consequenses of being suspected and hated by him. You see how strongly he has environed our Maritime Coasts with his twenty Gallies; you see how proudly he passes through the City, attended by such of the Nobility, who having by the means of *Andrew Doria* usurped that Dignity which was lately yours, now pay *Jannetin* for it the price of a servile obsequiousness; but that which most sensibly affects me is the invincible reasons I have to think, that he designs to oppress the publick Liberty by the assistance of the Emperour his too powerful Patron. And because I alone, out of a sense of the duty I owe to my Country, and of the particular obligations I have to your Party, would never consent (as several others of the Nobility have done) to the

unjust depredations that have been made on the rights of the people, *Jannetin* is employing all his Engines for my destruction. Why therefore, Gentlemen, do we yet continue careless and cowardly Spectators of our approaching Calamities? For what enterprise do we reserve our Strength and Courage, if we now unhappily abandon our own and our Countries safety, when there is need of our utmost force to preserve it from Desolation? 'Tis now the time for us to punish, if we can, these Villainous Conspiracies, and not to lament and deplore them: Tears, Sighs, and querulous Language, are Weapons proper only for Women, but whosoever deserves the nobler Character of a Man, ought to revenge his injuries in such vigorous Methods as are worthy that Sex, which Nature has honoured with so large Prerogatives. We have all of us too long patiently endur'd the insolence of those, who impute this our good Nature, to a servile and base Temper. And the impunity with which their former Crimes have escap'd, do only encourage these oppressors to increase the grievances which we have till now disguis'd under a forc'd silence and a dissembled contentedness. And what further are we yet to expect from these Villains? Perhaps when you are wholly depriv'd of the small share you now have in the Administration of affairs, their cruel mercy may induce them to spare some of your

lives ; but how much wish'd for will Death be by those who will daily be entertain'd with the dismal prospect of the ruin of Estates, the destruction of Families, Murtherstreachersously perpetrated under the pretence of Law and Justice, Matrons and Virgins ravish'd, and many more Villainies committed, by *Jannetin Doria's* Soldiers, and by his approbation ? These and many more Calamities are the unavoidable consequences of a Tyranny, which owes its Birth to the ruin of a flourishing State, and cannot be establish'd but by the Death of all brave and worthy Patriots.

Therefore (my Friends) are our Souls so degenerated ? Is our blood so spiritless and chill ? Are our Weapons so very dull and blunted, that we cannot exert a vigorous Revênge, and put an end to the infamous life of him, who glories in that he hath reduc'd us to this unfortunate and despicable condition ? Shall we not pierce every fibre of that Heart that hath harbour'd projects so villainous and cruel ? Shall we suffer one, who at the best, is but our equal, imperiously to trample upon us, and to have the same absolute power of Life and Death over us, as if we had been born his Slaves ? For my own part I declare, I had much rather purchase my liberty with the utmost toil and hazard, than to slide with ease and sloth into the state of Servitude ; and as I may (without arrogance) believe that our common Enemies,

design my death as well as the subversion of the Republick, so do I with the most chearful willingness Sacrifice my life for the preservation of our National Liberty, which if I should not much preferr before the safety of my own Person, I were unworthy to live a moment longer. But however, I would fain see in you, those vigorous Emotions of mind, which not only your Quality and Education, but even those great dangers which at this time threaten your ruin, require from you. And whether you would have me act the part of your Leader, or of a common Soldier in so just a cause, I am ready according to your Orders, either to Command, or to Obey. I here consign my self to you with an assurance, that as my Person shall be always in your Power, so my Soul shall be undaunted, and unshaken under whatsoever event may attend our undertaking.

But, Gentleman, whether your honour of your safety is dear to you, you must be of good Courage, and take up Arms with me: For this resolution is absolutely necessary to you all, to those of you who are inspir'd with a forward valour 'tis exceeding glorious, and to those with whom a cautious abhorrence of War is more prevalent, self-preservation makes it indispensably requisite. Nor do I invite you to join with me in a rash, and inconsiderate enterprize, for 'tis many Months since I not only projected all the methods to effect it, but

made it my business to provide a sufficient number of Soldiers ; who being now conveniently posted about the City, seem to give us full assurance of an easie and certain victory, almost without the hazard of a Battel. So that when you call to mind the contemptuous behaviour of our governing Nobility, and the excessive pride of *Jannetin Doria*, I am sure these Reflections must awaken in you a desire of an honourable revenge : And this will inspire you with so vigorous a courage in the use of your Weapons, that our Enemies will, to their loss and shame, admire the courage of us whom they have so much despis'd, and on the other side we shall know by experience, whether their fortitude in War is any ways equal to their Arrogance and Luxury in times of Peace. Thus far, my Friends, I have laid before you my thoughts of the present state of affairs : 'Tis time now to put an end to my discourse, that we may proceed in our successful enterprize. Let us march into the City, where multitudes are ready to joyn with us in our honourable undertaking. The Gates and Avenues are in the power of such Soldiers as I have brought over to my Interests ; and when I give the signal, the *Genouese* Galliet will fall into the possession of some stout Seamen, who will with their lives defend their Prize, and annoy the Enemy.

In the City fifteen hundred Tradesmen and

Artificers wait ready arm'd for our coming : By this time two thousand of the Infantry of *Piacenza*, and as many of my own Subjects are got into the Suburbs, and are calling upon the Populace to assist them in restoring the Liberty, resettling the ancient Government of *Genoua*, and extirpating the insolent Tyranny and Usurpation of *Jannetin Doria*, and his confederate Nobility.

Therefore rouse up your Courage, and march with me ; that this Night (which in Brightness Rivals the clearest Day) may put an end to the Memory of our past Servitude, by restoring to the despis'd Populace their Just Dignities and Rightful Privileges.

And if, after what I have said, there is any one of you, who shall be so Obstinate and Self-conceited, as to make any Objection or Opposition to an Exploit so Noble and Generous, as is the preserving our Country from imminent Servitude, let him look upon this dreadful Scene of Warlike Preparations, and assure himself, that where there are so many Swords, his Breast shall not escape unpierc'd. I must freely and plainly declare to you, that 'tis absolutely necessary for us all to Fight, or to Die : And his Blood who shall refuse to Succour his Country in this time of Danger, shall be shed in this very place to wash out the stain of his Ingratitude and Perfidiousness : And this Hand of mine shall Slay the first Victim.

which consecrates this Night to the Love of our Country, if any one dares be so untimely scrupulous as to make any Resistance.

This Threatening Speech, together with such a number of Arm'd Men appearing in their view ready to execute these Menaces, so much Astonish'd the Imprison'd Guests, that for some time they remain'd silent : But at last being more effected with the Apprehensions of their present Danger, (being on all sides hem'd in by Count *Fieschi's* Soldiers) then with the Horrour of the Impious Action they were going about, express'd their readiness to Obey the Count's Orders, and to follow them as their Leader. Two only of the whole Company dissembling a Cowardise, (Honourable on such an occasion) Petition'd *Fieschi* not to engage them in an Affair so far distant from their Profession ; least (being surpriz'd with excessive Fear in the heat of the Fight) they shou'd rather be a hindrance than a help to his Enterprize. And so exquisitely did they feign this unusual Terrour, that the Count, after he had a while discours'd with them, supposing as they pretended, their Company might be prejudicial to him, was well satisfi'd that they shou'd continue an Apartment of his Palace confin'd under a strong Guard. These were *John Baptist Cattaneo Bava*, and *John Baptist Justiniano*, the Son of *Urban* ; who voluntarily Acting the Cowards at such a

seasonable Juncture, to keep themselves from being the Infamous partakers in this Publick Parricide, deserve for it much greater Praise, than *Junius Brutus* for counterfeiting the Madman: For by that dissimulation he only secur'd himself from the Jealousie of the proud Tyrant *Tarquin*, but these Worthies by there pretended Timorousness, did what in them lay, for the common safety of the Republick.

Fieschi's Servants had by this time furnish'd a Table with several Dishes of Meat, as a Collation rather than a Supper; of which hasty Banquet while some few of his Guests without sitting down just tasted, the Count himself went into his Wife's Apartment, where he found her discoursing with *Pansa*, and in a few words imparted to her the design he was going about. This Lady being strangely surpris'd at the horridness of the Fact, and the consideration of the Dangers her Husband expos'd himself to in the prosecution of it, fell at his Feet in the manner of a Suppliant, and accompanying her Words with Sighs and Tears, and all the Marks of a real and intense Sorrow, spake to him to this effect.

I beg you (my Dearest Lord) by the sincere and ardent Love I bear you, and by whatever in the World you value at the highest Rate, take care of your Life, and do not by so base an Act Blemish the Honour of your Family. By these Tears I shed, and by these Knees of yours which

I now embrace, do not, I intreat you, so far forget the Duty you owe to God, to your Countrey, to me, and to your self: Why will my *Fieschi* precipitate himself and me into Calamities which he may so easily avoid? How shall I be able to undergo the weight, of expecting every Minute, (with the Ominous Presages of a Trembling Heart) the piercing News of your Death; which will be but the beginning of my Disconsolate and Disgraceful Widowhood; for how can I expect better Usage (though the Calamities of that State seldom fail to move Compassion) than to be pointed at, and taken notice of, as the Partner of your Bed, and the Concealer, if not Sharer, of your Treason. Can you be so cruel as to abandon me for a Prey to the Lust of the Soldiers, and the Fury of the Populace, who (I fear) will ere it be long come to pillage and destroy this House, as part of the Just Punishment due for your Rebellion; and in that Lamentable Outrage how can I expect to be free from their Violence and Rudeness? Therefore, my Dear Lord, alter yet your Resolutions, and proceed no further in this.

She wou'd have proceeded, but her Grief interrupted her, and *Fieschi* perceiving that *Pansa* was prepared to second the Countesses Request with Arguments to dissuade him from so Flagitious an Enterprize, put an end to their intended Debate by this Answer.

Let not my *Leonora* presage so unhappy a conclusion to my Enterprize, but rather entertain her Mind, during my absence, with the pleasing hopes of a Fortunate Event. My Destiny has engag'd me in this Design, and my Affairs are now in that posture, that whether I will or no, I must proceed ; therefore (my Dearest) compose your Mind to that temper, as not to be surpriz'd with excessive Joy at my good Success, nor with too intense a Grief, if the contrary should happen. Within a few Hours you will hear either of my Death or Victory. And so Farewell.

About this time *Verrina* returned to the Palace, and assur'd Count *Fieschi*, that there was no reason for him to apprehend any manner of opposition in any part of the City ; that his Galley well Mann'd and Arm'd stood ready for a Signal to block up the entrance of the *Darsenne*, and shut up (as it were) *Doria's* Vessels which were then in that Harbour. *Fieschi* upon this distributes Arms to those whom he had got together, and about Ten at Night began his Expedition, having Marshal'd his Men in this order. His Van-Guard consisted of One Hundred and Fifty Chosen Men, whose Courage and Skill in these Affairs he had frequent Experience of. Next March'd the Count himself (attended by the Nobles of his party,) and, as it became a careful General, he made it his business to see that his

Soldiers observ'd the necessary Dicipline of keeping in their Ranks and Files. When they were come near to the suburbs, *Fieschi* dispatch'd his Natural Brother *Cornelius* to seize the Gate *del Arco* ; which he took without great difficulty, the Garrison-Soldiers who were but few, not expecting to find themselves in a time of Peace to be so fiercely Attack'd from without, and at the same time betray'd from within their Walls by the Treachery of *Fieschi's* Adherents. The Count being flush'd with this good Success, sends away presently his Two Brothers *Jerome* and *Ottobuoni*, together with *Vincentio Calcagno*, to possess themselves of the Gate of *St. Thomas*. Just at this time the Galley discharg'd their Cannon, which was the Signal agreed on to give them notice of its arrival to the place appointed. As soon as *Fieschi* heard this, he and the Soldiers that attended him hasten'd their March to the Bridge of *Cattani*, having in their way thither pass'd through *St. Andrew's* Arch to *St. Donat's*, and from thence all along the Street call'd *Piazza dei Salvaghi*. When they came to the Bridge of *Cattani*, *Verrina* being got on board the Galley, *Thomas Assereto* endeavour'd to make sure of the entrance into the *Darsenne* ; who at first had a free admittance granted him by those who guarded this Port, because when he told them his name they knew

him to be a Servant of *Jannetin's* ; but as soon as they saw how many Soldiers follow'd him, they suspected his design, and by main force thrust him out again, and put themselves vigorously on the defensive. So that this Stratagem failing, and it being very necessary that some Body shou'd get in at that passage, and open the Gate for *Fieschi's* entrance, it was resolv'd that *Scipio Borgognoni*, one of the Count's Subjects, fam'd for his Courage and Conduct, shou'd Arm and man some of the smallest Vessels, with which, thus provided against all Exigences, he shou'd by Sea force his passage into the *Darsenne*, and open a way for the Conspirators Irruption at the place, where the Imposts upon Wines are assessed and paid. And thus was the design successfully executed : For although there were some Contrasts before the Soldiers in Garrison wou'd quit their Post ; yet the assailants being more in number, and of a more daring Courage, than the Besieged, they quickly forc'd them to abandon their Fort.

By this time *Fieschi* arriv'd by Land to the *Darsenne*, and waited every Moment for the Signal which was to give notice that his Galley was got safely thither : But it happen'd that she came some time later than had been agreed on ; for, the Water being shallow, she ran aground, and it cost them full half an Hour to Lanch her out again into the Deep.

These tumultuous motions by this time had rais'd a Hurly Burly in the *Darsenne* ; but before the *Genoueses* could be thoroughly *alarm'd* with it, Count *Fieschi* hearing the Signal given, order'd his Soldiers to fall upon *Doria's* Gallies with all imaginable vigour and fury, which was accordingly executed, he himself performing his part in this Assault. This unexpected violence, and the sight of such a number of arm'd Men in possession of the Port, quickly alarm'd both the Seamen and the Galley Slaves ; and now the Air was fill'd with a confus'd and dreadful noise, the Slaves joining together in the common cry of Liberty, and endeavouring to burst their Chains, the detestible Badges of their Villainy and Servitude. But Count *Fieschi* never intended (nor would it have much forwarded his design) to be Master only of so many empty Vessels ; therefore to prevent the damage that would accrue to him by the flight of these Slaves, he made all possible hast to get on board the Admiral Galley* which made no great hast either to escape or to return the violence the Enemies had offer'd its Commander and Soldiers, being startled at these unexpected disorders. *Fieschi* being eager to accomplish this design, order'd a plank to be laid for his Passage, one end of it resting on the shore, and the other on

* *Marginal Reading.*—La Capitana.

the ladder in the poup of the Vessel ; this moveable Bridge prov'd the ruin of the whole Project ; for neither end of it being fasten'd, and the Galley hapning, by some accident or other, to thrust farther from the shore, *Fieschi* and the Bridge he so rashly trusted with his life, were of a sudden plung'd in the Waves.

He was arm'd at all points, and with the weight of this he was so oppress'd, that he could not save himself by swimming back to the Shore ; and the darkness of the Night, and the tumultuous Noises of so great a concourse of People, hindered his Friends from perceiving the Fatal Accident, or hearing the cries and shrieks of their Leader in this desperate Extremity, which quickly put an end to his life ; he being rather stifed in a puddle of Muddy Water, than drown'd in the clear Ocean, and being clogg'd and weigh'd down by that Armour, in which he had plac'd his greatest security.

Thus the Almighty by his unerring Providence derides and frustrates those Cobweb Policies and vain Projects, wherewith unhappy short-sighted Mortals amuse themselves, for this formidable Conspiracy, which had been fram'd and carried on at the expence of so much time, and so many cunning Artifices, which was now secur'd and strengthen'd by a competent Army, and was just ripe for Execution, was at this very instant shat-

ter'd and destroy'd, by an event sudden, unexpected, and in all appearance purely casual : Divine Justice involving the Conspirators in those dreadful Calamities, to which their Treacherous cruelty had design'd to sacrifice their Native Country.

In the mean time (notwithstanding this Accident) the Conspirator's board'd *Doria's* Gallies, and man'd them with a sufficient number of their own Soldiers, of whose fidelity they had had the greatest experience.

Nor were *Fieschi's* two Brothers *Jerome* and *Ottobuoni* any ways wanting in the Execution of their Commission ; for as soon as they heard the Canon discharg'd, (which was the signal agreed on) they attackt the Gate of *St. Thomas* with 600 Men ; intending when this was in their Power, to march from hence directly to *Doria's* Palace (which was situated without the City Walls, and at a small distance from this Gate) and there barbarously to Assassinate *Andrew Doria* and his Nephew *Jannetin*. The Garrison that was posted at this Gate, made an honourable resistance for some time, and had not *Fieschi* corrupted some of the Soldiers with Bribes, it is not a little probable that this attempt had prov'd unsuccessful. For *Sebastiani Lerearo* and his Brother, one of them being Captain, and the other Ensign of that party, coming in at that instant to their assistance, held

the Conspirators to a sharp and bloody Combate, till at last the Captain being taken Prisoner and the Ensign kill'd in the Skirmish, the defendants being betray'd by some of their fellow Soldiers, and briskly assaulted by their Enemies, were at last put to flight, and so lost that Gate they had so well defended ; and which the Conspirators rather bought with their Money, than acquir'd by their valour. The Shouts of the Soldiers, the Clashing of Weapons, and the Noise of the Tumult grew so loud that it was heard to *Doria's* Palace. The old Man was at this time confin'd to his Bed by a violent fit of the Gout ; but however was mightily alarm'd at these unaccountable Confusions ; as was also *Jannetin's* Wife, who being wak'd by them presently, told her Husband she apprehended the Galley Slaves were in a Mutiny. He presently got up, and perswading himself that he should only find his own Seamen engag'd in some *jocular quarrell, or some accidental squabble easily reconcilable, he marcht towards the Gate of *St. Thomas*. And as if fate had hurried him on to his certain destruction, he took no Arms with him but a Sword, nor any attendants but one Servant, and a Page, who carri'd a Torch before him ; although his Uncle, prudently considering that

* *Marginal Reading*.—una rissa accesa per cagione dignoco.

the danger might be greater than it at first appear'd, had advis'd him to take with him a sufficient number of Men and Arms to defend himself against any Violence that might be offer'd him ; and his Wife had with the most tender and affectionate Entreaties endeavour'd to perswade him not to stir abroad till Morning : But he was deaf to her Prayers, and regardless of his Uncle's Advice.

Jannetin, when he came to the Gate, supposing it was still Guarded by those Soldiers of his own Party, whose Charge it us'd to be, being vex'd at this unseasonable Disturbance, and not finding so ready an admittance as he expected, call'd out to them aloud in an imperious manner* (as was his custom) and commanded them to open the Gate to him ; which the Conspirators very joyfully did, as soon as they knew by his voice, that it was *Jannetin Doria*, whom they hated and fear'd as one of the geatest Obstacles to their wicked designs.

Having thus a fair opportunity for executing their Malice, they lost no time ; but as soon as ever *Jannetin* had put his head within the Wicket, they fell upon him with all the Weapons they had at command, and barbarously Murther'd him leaving hardly any part of his body free from the

* *Marginal Reading.*—con Pusata alterezza.

bloody Characters of their Cruelty. But Divine Justice signaliz'd it self in the revenge of this Murther, for at the same instant that unhappy *Doria* fell a Sacrifice to the fury of his Enemies, Count *Fieschi* (as some Writers observe) who was the chief contriver of this Murther, and by whose particular order his Soldiers perpetrated it, ended his life in the wretch'd manner above related.

Jannetin Doria was a Person worthy of a longer life, for he was a true lover of his Country, and a Scourge and Terror to the Corsaires of *Barbary* and other Pirates, who cruiz'd about the Coasts of *Genoua*, and interrupted the freedom of Commerce: Therefore (if *Genoua* must have lost him in the Flower of his Age) his Death would have been much more glorious, had he expir'd in the heat of Battel, fighting against the common Enemy, than to perish (as he did) by the inhumane Malice of Seditious Assassines and Traitors, who had set their Country in a Flame and were just upon the point of completing its ruine.

In the mean time the Noise and Tumults increasing, and *Andrew Doria* not knowing the occasion of them, enquir'd often what was become of *Jannetin*, but cou'd hear no Tidings at all of him, nor receive any satisfactory Information about the Dreadful Confusions that reign'd in all Quarters of the City: At last he sent *Louis Julia*,

one of his Domesticks, into the City to learn the cause of these Disorders, who brought him word in a very little time, that Count *Fieschi* was become Master of the City ; that the Circumstances of the Republick were extreemly dangerous ; that the Gallies were in the possession of the Conspirators ; that the Populace were in so high a Sedition, as to declare openly for Liberty, and to wish Success to the Arms of *Fieschi* whom they look'd upon as their Deliverer ; that Arm'd Men outrageously Violent were to be met with in every Street, who like Mad Men threatned Destruction, and a general Plunder to all the Houses of Rich Men ; that there was nothing to be seen but Quarrels, Bloodshed, and Murther ; and that in all parts Opprobrious and Reproachful Language, with the bitterest Curses and Execrations against the Nobility were to be heard ; and lastly, that himself was in a particular manner destin'd a Sacrifice to their Rage and Malice.

This News, though it did not at all affrighten the Good Old Man, yet it touch'd his Soul, with so sensible a Grief, to see his Countrey, which he had always lov'd with the tenderest Affection, just upon the brink of Ruin, that he resolv'd without making any resistance to yield himself a Prey to the Impetuous Fury of the Conspirators . Saying, that he ought not to live after the Subversion of the Republick he had so long served,

but by the united persuasions and entreaties of his whole Family, the good old Man, (who bent beneath the weight of so many Years, and was no less afflicted in his Mind with the sad prospect of the Miseries of his Countrey, than in his Body with the tormenting pains of the Gout) was prevail'd with to suffer himself to be carri'd on his Servant's Shoulders, and by them set on his Mule, which convey'd him to *Mazone* a Fortifi'd Castle belonging to the Family of *Spinola*, and Fifteen Miles distant from *Genoua*; in his way thither he stop'd at *Sestri* and there heard the afflicting News of his Nephew *Jannetin's* Death.

While such a series of good Success attended the Arms of the Conspirators, they at last began to miss Count *Fieschi* their Leader, and several of them were detach'd to make a narrow search and enquiry after him. At last, when no news at all cou'd be heard of him, they grew suspicious of the Fatal Accident that had ended his Life : However, the Governing Party among them smother'd these rising Jealousies as well as they could, least if it shou'd be nois'd among the Soldiers, they shou'd desert their Colours, and through despair throw up a Conquest already so far advanc'd. They left a strong Guard at every Gate, *Ottobuoni Fieschi* was entrusted with the Gallies, and Two hundred of the most Valiant of the whole

Army, under the Command of *Jerome Fieschi*, were detach'd according to their first Resolutions, to March through the Streets of *Genoua* and excite the Mobile to take up Arms and join them. But this design did not succeed according to their expectation, for although a vast number of the Scum of the People fell in with the Conspirators, when they first Proclaim'd a General Liberty to be obtain'd for them by the means of Count *Fieschi*, and that under his Protection they should continue in the secure enjoyment of it, yet not one Trades-Man of any Wealth or Reputation stirred a Finger in their behalf.

'Tis hardly to be express'd what a disorder these Tumultuous Transactions had put the whole City into. The People run about as if they had been distracted, without knowing whither they had best to go ; they ask'd one another what was the cause of these Dreadful Confusions, but they were all struck with such a Panick Fear, that they had not the power to return an Answer. Women of all Qualities appear'd at their Windows, and with the moving Eloquence of Sighs and Tears, Lamented the Dangers to which their Husbands, Brothers, and Sons, were forc'd in this Exigency to expose themselves for the necessary defence of their Country. The Nobility were so Amaz'd, that they knew not whether it were best for them, to assemble in a Body at the Doge's Palace,

or to stay at their several Houses, and defend them, as well as they cou'd, from being Pillag'd. The Emperor's Ambassador being surpriz'd at this unexpected Accident, was preparing to leave *Genoua*, that his Master's Dignity might not receive any Affront, or Outrage, by the Insolence which the Enrag'd Mobile might offer to his Minister; but being over-perswaded by *Paul Lasagna*, a Man who had a great influence over the Populace, he went to his House and staid there. This *Lasagna* during these Distractions, got together a considerable number of his Friends and Dependants; and having an inveterate Pique and Emulation with the Family of *Spinola* on the account of their vast Riches and powerful Alliances, he staid at home expecting the upshot of *Fieschi's* Rebellion; that he might accordingly take such Measures as would best promote his own Interests. For he hoped that by this Revolution there would be a way open'd for the reinstating the family of the *Adorni* in their Ancient Possession of the Principality of *Genoua*; several of those who now declar'd for *Fieschi*, being sincere and affectionate Friends to the *Adorni*. The Emperor's Ambassador being resolv'd to stay in *Genoua*, and to give what Assistance he could to a Republick so entirely devoted to the Interests of the House of *Austria*, went with all speed to the Ducal-Palace, where he found *Jerome Doria* the

Cardinal, *Adam Centurio*, and others of the Nobility, who met the rest of the Senate, and consulted with them, *Nicholas Franco* being President of the Assembly, for at this time there was no Doge of *Genoua*. The result of their Deliberations, was, that *Boniface Lomellino*, *Christopher Pallavicino*, and *Anthony Calva*, with a Cornet of the Guards, and Fifty Soldiers, should march to the defence of the Gate of *St. Thomas* ; but in the way thither meeting with a Squadron of *Fieschi's* Party, they Engag'd with it, and being deserted and betrayed by several of their own Men, were forc'd to retreat for shelter to the Palace of *Adam Centurio* : There having reinforc'd themselves with several fresh Men, and being join'd by *Francis Grimaldi*, and *Dominic Doria*, they went boldly by another way towards the Gate, to enquire what was become of *Andrew Doria*. But finding the Gate strongly Guarded, and *Lomellino* (who had bravely attempted to break through their Ranks) being taken Prisoner by the Conspirators, they were again put to flight, and were quickly follow'd by *Lomellino*, who had had the good Luck to make his Escape.

The Conspirators had not yet heard any Tidings of Count *Fieschi*, and *Verrina*, who foresaw that without him their whole Project, though so far advanc'd, was in an extream hazard of being totally frustrated, and having in vain search'd all

places where he thought he might find him, began to grow desperate, and betook himself to his Galley : For by securing this he thought himself safe, what Event soever shoul'd happen. If *Fieschi's* Design succeeded well, then he shoul'd be Master of the *Darsenne*, and preserve the strength and flower of the Count's Army for other necessary Services : If the Attempt shoul'd fail, as the present Circumstances of Affairs seem'd to Threaten, he cou'd then save himself from the danger of being taken and punish'd as a Rebel, by Rowing as fast as he cou'd towards *Marseilles*. Nevertheless his keeping at such a distance prov'd a very great inconvenience to *Jerome Fieschi* : For that Party of the Conspirators which were on Land, seeing themselves, as it were, abandon'd, both by Count *Fieschi* their Leader, and by *Verrina* the Adviser and Contriver of this Design, and both of them being Instruments absolutely necessary for the carrying of it on, they cou'd not entirely confide in the Conduct of *Jerome Fieschi*, who being very Young, had neither Experience nor Prudence, but in all his Management show'd himself to be hurried on by an Impetuous Rashness, without considering himself, or harkning to the Reasons that others offer'd him. Besides this, the Soldiers cou'd not have that Esteem and Reverence for him, which they generally bear towards Persons of an approv'd Valour, and an

establish'd Reputation ; which are the surest Methods to gain an Ascendant over the Hearts of the People. So that they did not only begin to fall off from their first Ardor, but also took all occasions that they cou'd to desert the Service. Of so great Moment is the Esteem Soldiers have of their General, towards the good or bad Success of any Enterprize. But one Accident, which on all accounts shou'd much rather have abated the Heat and Rashness of *Jerome Fieschi*, helped rather to increase it, and to puff him up with that senseless Ambition which afterwards prov'd his Ruin. By this time the certain News of Count *Fieschi's* Death was confidently reported among his Adherents. And his Brother *Jerome* looking upon himself as now the absolute Master of all these Forces, and thinking that the prosecution of his Brother's Ambitious Designs was devolv'd to him as part of his inheritance, he flatter'd himself with the Prospect of obtaining for himself that Principality, for which he had hitherto Fought in his Brother's behalf. These deluding hopes, and the near view which he thought he had of their Accomplishment, made him exert his utmost Vigour to compleat his Victory; for the Inducements are vastly greater when we know that we our selves shall reap the Fruit of our Toil and Hazard, than when we only Act, as Engines, for the Profit and Advancement of others.

In the mean time the Senators, and the other Citizens, who were assembl'd in the Palace, were not wanting in their Assistance to their Countrey, now in all appearance reduc'd to the lost Extremity: but not having a sufficient number of Forces to Cope with the Conspirators, and being Ignorant of Count *Fieschi's* designs, they could not after all fix on any certain Resolutions. They thought fit however to dispatch *Jerome Fresco*, and *Benedict Canavale*, as Commissioners from the Republick to Count *Fieschi*, to demand of him what his pretences were for raising these Commotions, and what End he designed by them. And quickly after Cardinal *Jerome Doria*, a near Relation of Count *Fieschi*, accompani'd by *John Baptist Lercaro*, and *Bernard Castagna*, two Senators, was preparing to go at the entreaty of the Senate, to desire a Personal Conference with the Count himself; that so he might try whether the diginity of his Character, which sometimes hath greater power than the Ties of Blood, or the Force of Eloquence, would be sufficient to restrain him from making any further progress in so dangerous an Affair. But several Wise Men dissuaded the Cardinal from exposing the Reverence of his Order to the Insults and Affronts of the Populace, who at the best are Rude and Inconsiderate, but were now in a very high Ferment. Hereupon he turn'd back again, thinking it safer

and better to deferr the interposing the Authority of his Office, till he should have an opportunity to discourse privately with Count *Fieschi*. So that the Senate proceeded to a new Choice of some Gentlemen who were sent to know the Count's demands. Their Names were, *Augustin Lomellino*, *Hector Fiesco*, *Ansaldo Justiniano*, *Ambrose Spinosa*, and *John Balliano*. These stopt at (the Church of the Theatins) St. *Cyro*, and there waited for Count *Fieschi*, whom they saw coming towards them, as they thought, with his Friends, Guards and Attendants. As soon as the two Parties were come pretty near to one another, *Thomas Assereto*, and others of the Conspirators, drew their Weapons and begun to Assault the *Genouese* Commissioners so fiercely, that *Lomellino* and *Hector Fiesco* being not prepar'd for so rude a Treatment, got back into the city with great hazard of their Lives. When this Tumult was a little appeas'd, *Ansaldo Justiniano* went up to *Jerome Fieschi*, and demanded of him where he might find the Count, that he might impart to him the Message where-with the Senate had entrusted him. To this *Jerome Fieschi* returned a surly Answer, telling him, That he need not enquire any further for Count *Fieschi*, that he himself was possess'd of that Dignity, and that therefore he expected they should presently yield up to him the Senate House, with all other Publick Buildings and

Fortifications which they were yet Masters of. By this unadvis'd and ill-tim'd Answer, the *Genoueses* concluded, that *John Lewis* Count *Fieschi* was Dead. This inspir'd them with a new Life; for after these Publick Commissioners were return'd to the Senate, and had acquainted them with the certain News of the Elder *Fieschi's* Death, and with the Arrogance of the Younger Brother, they Order'd that Twelve of their Number, shou'd get together as many of the Guards and the Populace, as being well Arm'd, would be sufficient either to drive *Fieschi's* Vanguard out of the City, or to cut them off if they shou'd make a stubborn Resistance. But however, upon second thoughts, they found it was not requisite to run the hazard of a Battel. For those of the Mobile who, at the General cry of Liberty, went out and joined with the Conspirators, chiefly out of a desire to plunder the Palaces of the Nobility, now finding their expectations frustrated, and repenting of the Sedition they had rais'd, fell off by little and little, and return'd to their own homes. For the Morning coming on apace, none of them were willing to be discover'd to be the Accomplices of the Conspiracy. And several of their own Men were inclin'd to follow this Example, thinking it better worth their while, to contrive a secure retreat for themselves, than with the hazard of their Lives to obtain a compleat Victory, the profitable Con-

sequences whereof would fall only to the share of their Leader. So that *Jerome Fieschi* being arriv'd to *St Laurence's Church*, (which is the Metropolitan Church, and not far distant from the Palace, whether he was marching in order to possess himself of it) and being startl'd no less at the thinness of his own Troops, and their unwillingness to engage the *Genoueses* than at the Number of Men which had been got together by the order of the Senate, he was at a plunge what course he should take. But at last, out of extream caution for his own security, he went back by *St. Donato's*, marching slowly to the Gate *del Arco*.

On the other side the Senators and Chief Citizens of *Genoua*, who were assembled at the Palace, receiv'd new Life and Vigour by this unexpected turn of their Affairs : Insomuch that some of them were of Opinion, that since *Fieschi's* Troops were in such a disorder and consternation, it wou'd be rather advisable that those *Genouese* Soldiers, whom they had got together, shou'd make a brisk Assault upon them, than that the dignity of the Senate shou'd descend so low, as to Treat with their Rebellious Subjects on a Capitulation for Peace. But those whose Age entitled them to the Character of Prudent and Experienc'd Persons, were against this proposal ; as thinking it less Politick, though more specious than the other : For, by avoiding a Battle, they should save the

Lives of many Citizens, who must have perish'd in it, (and how Laudable is this Avarice, if I may so call it, in Governours and Generals !) as also by the same caution prevent any sudden Accident, that might turn the Scale of Affairs, and again involve the Commonwealth in those Miseries and Dangers, which like a Ship that has escap'd the Perils of a Tempestuous Sea, and is now almost got within sight of her desir'd Haven, having lately felt, she had reason to be cautious of those Methods that perhaps might again reduce her to the same Calamitous State. For the City being already in a great Ferment, and it being in the Night time, and several Eminent Citizens being dissatisfi'd at the present Constitution, and several others of them being already declar'd Rebels, 'twou'd have been as great an Error in Politicks for the Government of *Genoua* to have trusted them with Arms, as it wou'd be ill management in a Physician to perplex his Patient with such Medicines as wou'd stir the Humours of his Body, and set them on working, when he is so extreemly Weak, that nothing but a quiet and gentle course of Physick can possibly keep him alive. The Glory therefore of healing these Publick Distempers is to be attributed to the Prudent Advice of *Paul Pansa*, who had before try'd, but in vain, by the most reasonable dissuasives, to prevent them, and to preserve *Fieschi's* Family from the sad Fate

that attends Perfidiousness and Rebellion. He was call'd into their Assembly, where having given a satisfactory account of the Reasons of his Conduct, he was Order'd to go to *Jerome*, now Count *Fieschi*, and command him from the Senate to quit the City, and to disband his Forces : Which if he would comply with, the Republick promis'd an Act of Oblivion for what was past, and a General Pardon to all the Conspirators. Hereupon, and by *Pansa's* perswasions, and the Advice of *Nicholas Doria* his near Kinsman, who went with *Pansa* to make up this Accomodation, *Fieschi* having left the City, an Instrument was drawn up sign'd by *Ambrose Senarega* Secretary to the Senate, whereby the Publick Faith was given as a Security, that the Government wou'd make good what they promis'd. So that *Fieschi* quietly retreated to *Montobbio* with his Guards and Adherents. His Brother *Ottobuoni*, with *Verrina*, *Calcagno*, and *Sacco*, who secur'd themselves on board the late Count *Fieschi's* best Galley, when they saw their Affairs entirely ruin'd, they steer'd their Course to *Marseilles*, carrying with them in Chains *Sebastian Leicaro*, *Manfred Centurio*, and *Vincent Vaccaro*, who were taken Prisoners at the beginning of the Tumult, between the *Darsenne* and the Gate of *St. Thomas* : But these Gentlemen they afterwards releas'd, setting them on shore at the Mouth of the River *Varo*. Thus

Fieschi's best Galley Sailing with all possible hast towards *France*, and the Galliot's being likewise dispers'd, the Haven of *Genoua* was again open, and a free passage left for all Vessels to come in and go out without opposition. Hence it came to pass that about Three Hundred Turkish Slaves,* who were Cruising about the Island *Elba*,† took the opportunity offer'd them by the general Confusion; and having Arm'd and Mann'd *Doria's* Galley, called the *Temperance*, they presently turn'd her Prow towards *Africk*, and made such hast, that, though *Don Bernard Mendosza's* Two Galley's pursu'd her with great Expedition and indefatigable Diligence, they cou'd not overtake her. To this considerable loss of *Andrew Doria's*, we may also add the flight of the Galliot's boarded by *Fieschi*, which were rowed off by the Slaves that Manag'd them, and the plundering the other Galleys that remain'd, of all their Arms and Furniture.

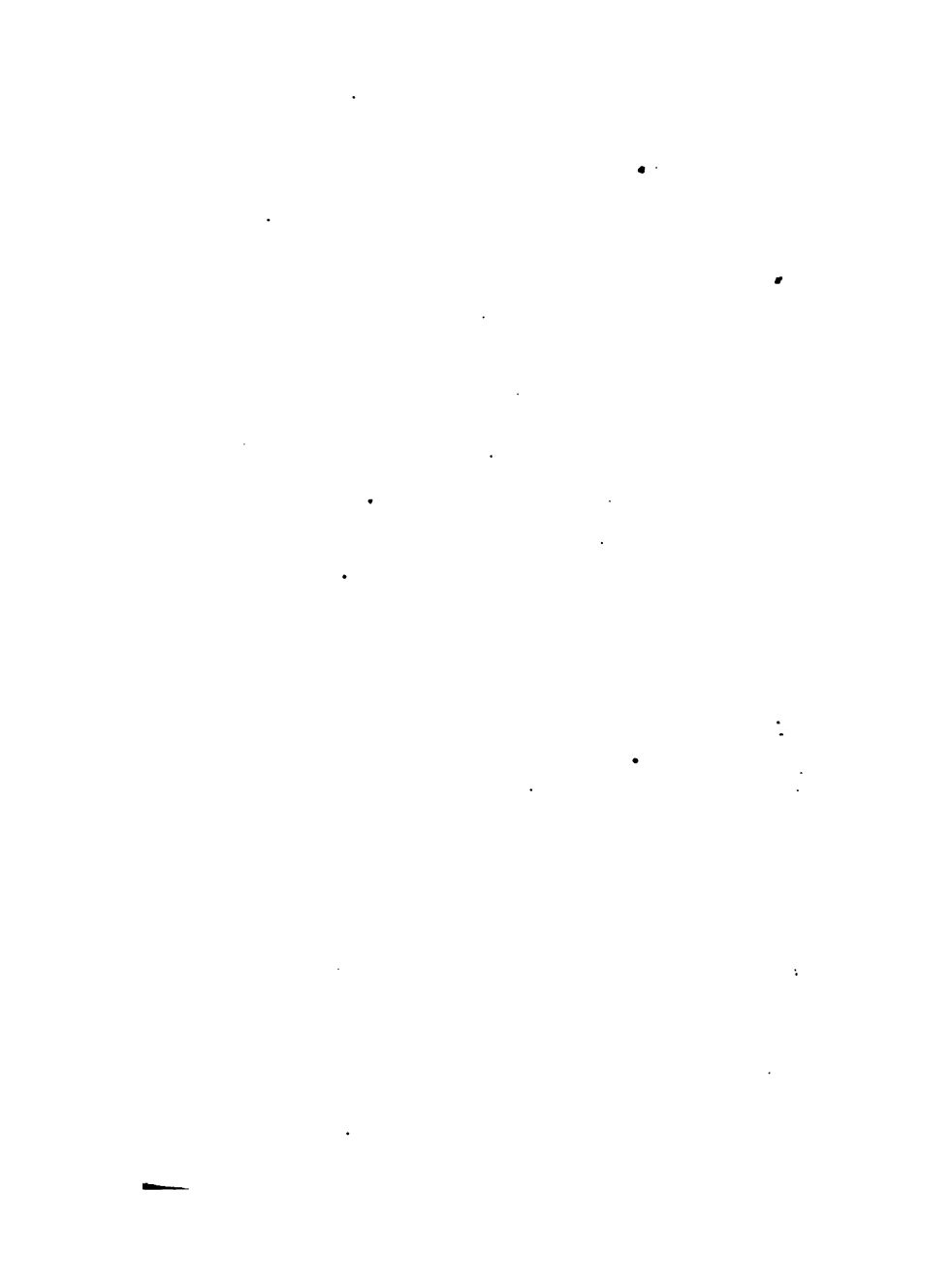
'Twas Four Days before the Body of *John Lewis* Count *Fieschi* was found: So that the Populace were inclin'd to believe he, with the others, had escap'd to *Marseilles*. This made several Apprehensive that the War was rather deferr'd than ended, and that after Count *Fieschi* had openly

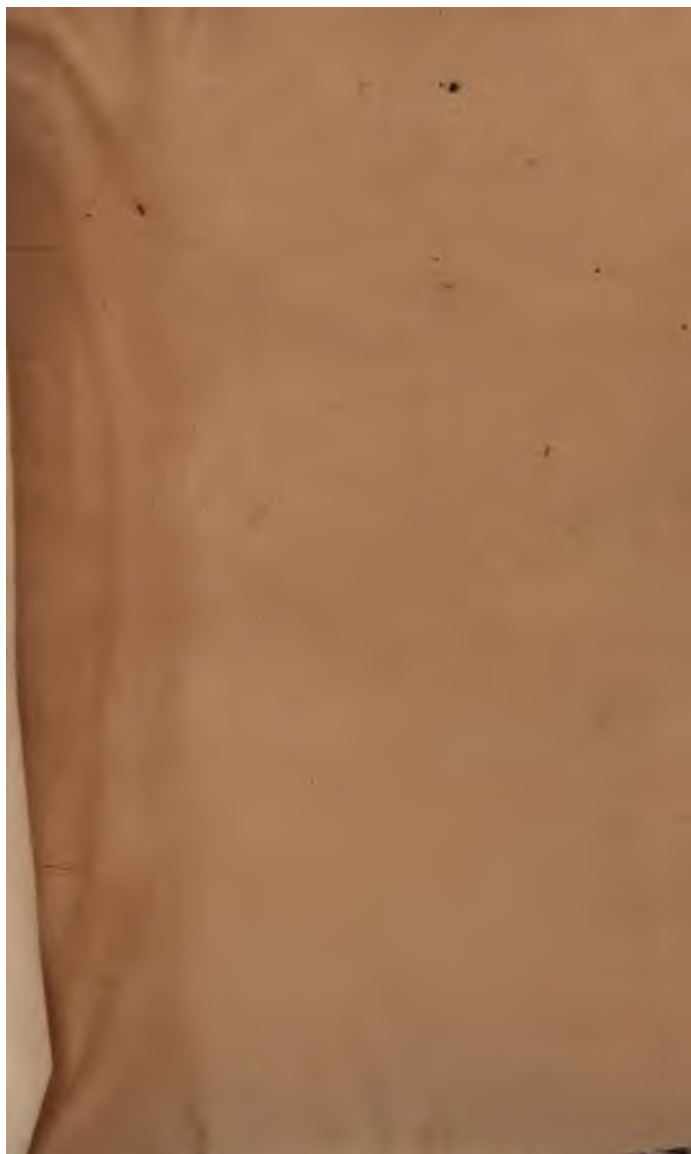
* *Marginal note.*—Su Iospuntar dell' Alba.

† *Marginal note.*—An Isle of Tuscany.

thrown off the Allegiance of a Subject, and beg'd the Assistance of the *French*, for compleating his Ambitious designs, he wou'd at his return prosecute the War with greater Vigour, and with a Cruelty suitable to his Perfidiousness. But this suspicion lasted not long ; for in a little time *Fieschi's* Body was found and taken up ; and after it had for a while been expos'd to the Publick View, near the place where he fell in, it was, by the order of *Andrew Doria*, carri'd to the Main Ocean, and there Buried in the Waves, though some indeed falsly gave out, that it was hang'd on a Gibbet, which Ignominy, though the Person deceas'd had very well deserv'd, yet it wou'd have look'd more like the Vain Efforts of an Impotent Malice, in Executing a Dead Man, than the Just Punishment of a Criminal.

Thus the Conspiracy of *John Lewis* Count *Fieschi*, which had so much Afrighted and Disturb'd *Genoua*, ended at last in the Ruin of himself, his Family, and his Adherents.













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